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## Religious Communications.

*For the Christian Observer.*

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN FRANCE.

THERE is no fact in ecclesiastical history more fully established, than that an elevated state of spiritual feeling has not continued to exist for a long period, in any place, or amongst any body of Christians. The infirmities of human nature have found a favourable soil for speedy and extended growth, even where men have met together for the best objects, and with the best desires of the renewed heart. The large experience of Baxter fixes the usual duration of a vigorous state of piety at very few years; and the history of all churches, from those which our Lord more immediately addressed, to the congregations with which we ourselves are acquainted, seems to verify this position. Some bodies of Christians have indeed established within themselves a conservative principle, which, in every tendency to decay, affords the power of reviviscence; and for this we are indebted, in our own Establishment, to our Articles, Liturgy, and forms of worship. But, under other circumstances, churches which appear to have been well constructed have so entirely fallen away that their history is almost forgotten. Nor is it difficult to account for this. The generation of Christians who begin a church adapt its construction to their own standard of feeling, and thus the light within and the form without are kept alive together. But the next generation who are introduced to membership by the will of others, are apt, from the deadening effect of long habit, to adopt a lower standard of religion than their fa-

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thers, and to carry on their worship with more formality; and, from not being careful to keep their lamps trimmed and their lights burning, the fire too often gradually goes out.

Sometimes, again, it pleases God in his dispensations to permit opposition or persecution to arise; and under the trial, the sufferers perhaps gradually yield—or, if not, are sometimes carried away by an irresistible annihilating force. The Almighty, not unfrequently, sees fit thus to deal with his people in order to try their faith, and promote their patience.

A striking instance of such an overwhelming dispensation is seen in the history of the Reformed Church in France. Its origin, its growth, its extended influence, its purity, the benefits which it conferred upon the country in which it was placed, as well as upon other lands, marked it as a building of God, a part of his spiritual temple. But no church has suffered more severely from the rage of the persecutor. Many a stately monument indeed remains, the proof of its excellent structure and its extended usefulness; but the waste and desolation which it has experienced are almost without parallel in modern times.

It cannot but be interesting to your readers to look back on the history of this celebrated church. I shall therefore lay before them some of the most remarkable particulars, appending to them such reflections as may appear suitable to the subject.

The real church of Christ seems to have had an existence in France in the time of Charlemagne, at which period the purity of Christianity was zealously maintained against the

idolatry of Popery.\* The first dawn

\* Even in the darkest ages of Popery, there were doubtless individuals who rose many degrees above the level of the surrounding corruptions; and, long before Popery was known, we find a Hilary giving lustre to the land of his nativity, by piety and virtues of no common stamp. This celebrated man was born at Poitiers in the fourth century. He was descended from a noble family, and had received a liberal education; but he was a pagan. He tells us, in his own account of his conversion, that he was led by calm reflection to perceive the vanity of idolatry; and by reading the writings of Moses, and the Prophets, his mind became enlightened respecting the true God. The New Testament taught him the doctrines of the Gospel; he perceived their excellence and suitableness to his condition, and heartily embraced them. "By the study of the Scriptures alone," says Milner, "he obtained and steadily professed the Nicene faith before he had ever seen the creed of that name, or knew any thing of the Arian controversy." After his conversion he avoided the fashionable heresies of the day, and gave himself up to the promotion of true religion in himself and others. His zeal in the Arian controversy is well known. He became bishop of Poitiers; but, meeting with great persecution for the sake of a good conscience, he suffered banishment for a considerable period: he was however at length restored to his see, where he died in the year 368.

Milner remarks of him, that "his views of the Trinity are remarkably perspicuous and scriptural." "The Holy Spirit," he says, "enlightens our understandings and warms our hearts: he is the author of all grace, and will be with us to the end of the world: he is our Comforter here while we live in expectation of a future life, the earnest of our hopes, the light of our minds, and the warmth of our souls.—Speaking of the incarnation of the Son of God and redemption by his blood, he remarks,—“Since the Son of God was made man, men may become the sons of God. A man who with gladness receives this doctrine renews his spirit by faith, and conceives a hope full of immortality. Having once learned to believe, he rejects captious difficulties, and no longer judges after the maxims of the world. He now neither fears death, nor is weary of life; and he presses forward to a state of blessed immortality.” On the subject of the Holy Trinity, he remarks,—“The chief qualification in a reader is, that he be willing to take the sense of an author from what he reads, and not give him one of his own. He ought not to endeavour to find in the passages which he reads that which he presumed *ought* to be there. In such passages as describe the character of the Supreme Being particularly, he ought at least to be persuaded that God

of the Reformation in that country appeared in the preaching of Waldo, who, in the twelfth century (1160,) brought to light some truths which had been long hidden amidst the ignorance and superstition of the Roman-Catholic Church. He did not propose to his countrymen any new system of doctrine, but merely complained of the degeneracy of the church, the supremacy of the pope, and various other things which he wished to bring back to primitive order: Persecution, of course, soon attended his steps. But, as oftentimes the enemies of religion, by the means which they take to crush a growing spirit of inquiry, only scatter it, as those who stamp violently upon fire, in order to extinguish it, only spread it more widely; so the opposition to the followers of Waldo dispersed the whole body of Reformers, and diffused their tenets in France and over the face of Europe. Waldo himself appears to have proclaimed his opinions in various parts of the continent. One of his disciples and ministers, Lollard, did the same in England. The Albigenses, so called from the country about Toulouse where they dwelt embraced, in a body, the doctrine of Reform. It was carried into Calabria, Bohemia, Germany, Flanders, Poland, Spain, and even to the dominions of the Grand Sultan. Nor has this light ever been extinguished; for it was handed down to Wicliff, and by him to the Bohemian martyrs, who delivered it to the German Reformers, awakened as they were to inquiry by the remarkable circumstances which aroused the attention of Luther.—Persecution of the most determined kind attended those in France who professed the new doctrines, as they were considered; but, in truth, the old doctrines of Christianity, purified from the corruptions of preceding ages. Many, however, held fast to them; and in every class of Society knew himself.” A man who reads the Scriptures with such impressions of humility and implicit faith cannot go very far astray, even in the worst of times.

there was disseminated the information which prepared the minds of men to receive the opinions which, in the sixteenth century, were more plainly developed.

Luther preached against indulgences in the year 1517, two years after Francis the First began to reign in France. Margaret de Valois, afterwards Queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis, was a zealous friend of the new doctrines; and her influence not only softened the asperity of her brother's temper, which might have led him to measures of general violence, but protected the Reformers from the dangers to which they were continually exposed. The doctrines of Luther were, however, condemned by the Sorbonne in 1521; and the prevailing spirit of the court was that of persecution. Those who ventured the first to preach openly, were burnt alive at the stake. Fabir, Farel, and Leclerc, names dear to the lovers of the French Protestant Church, were amongst the earliest martyrs. The last of them, a woolstapler, first preached the Reformed doctrines at Meaux; for this he was condemned to be scourged for three successive days and then branded. The next year he was put to death at Metz. At Meaux, the Bishop, Bussonet, was a great favourer of the Reformation; and under his teaching many Christians were raised up, who soon after obtained, by their cruel death, the glorious distinction of the Martyrs of Meaux. During the time of their suffering in the flames, they are said to have sung a chorus of holy melody, which could scarcely be drowned in the yells of their savage persecutors.

In the year 1509, Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy. When twenty years of age, he first preached the doctrines of the Reformation to his countrymen; and seven years afterwards, in 1536, he printed his "*Institutes*," which contain a full, and certainly a very able, statement of his opinions. This work was dedicated, in a preface written with

remarkable elegance of style, to Francis the First; but it does not seem to have produced much effect on the mind of that monarch. Indeed this could scarcely be expected; for he was at that time so given up to pleasure, to war, and to the follies of the age in which he lived, that he could not have had much leisure or inclination to attend to the affairs of religion. So little did he enter into the views of Calvin, that he is recorded to have assisted at Paris at the burning of six martyrs. On the whole, however, he was greatly restrained in his attempts against the Reformers, both by the influence of his sister and by public opinion, which seems very generally to have inclined towards Protestantism. Two events of considerable interest took place in his reign: the one was, the translation of the French Protestant Bible, which was published by Olivetan in 1555; the other the versification of some of the Psalms of David by Marot. Marot was the principal poet of his day. He appears to have been an inconsistent man in his moral practice; but he inclined in opinion strongly to the cause of the Reformers. His compositions, embellished by suitable and pleasing airs, were so much to the taste of the times, that they soon acquired great reputation. Both in the court and amongst the people, they were in continual use; and they served to bring the Reformed religion into notice, and to give it attraction among all classes of society. The enemies of the Reformation put forth translations of the Odes of Horace, to compete with the Psalms of Marot; but they did not gain their point.

The reign of Henry II., the successor of Francis, which began in 1547, exhibits much of the same spirit in the court, and much the same progress in the Reformation, as that of his father. The king was engaged in burning the heretics; and the Reformers meanwhile established churches at Paris, and in different parts of the kingdom. In



1553 Calvin edited an edition of Olivetan's translation of the Bible, which proved of great benefit to the church. In 1557 an attempt was made to establish an inquisition at Paris, after the plan of that in Spain, to put down heretical opinions; but it did no effectual mischief. The King of Navarre, who was also a prince of the blood, and through whom the title to the crown of France afterwards descended to his son Henry IV., became about this time a convert to the Reformed doctrines. In the following year a movement took place which marked the growing strength of the Protestant cause. A number of young persons belonging to a seminary of learning in the suburbs of Paris, separating from their companions, who were amusing themselves at play, began to sing in chorus the Psalms of Marot. They were soon joined by the rest, and gradually by a large body of persons (like Saul with the prophets,) who all joined in the same melody. "The newness of this thing," says Burnet, "amused many; the devotion of it wrought upon others; the music drew the rest: so that the multitude that used to divert themselves in the fields, instead of their ordinary sports, did nothing now but go about singing Psalms. And that which made it more remarkable was, that the King and Queen of Navarre came and joined with them. When the king of France heard of this Psalmody, he made an edict against it, and ordered the doers of it to be punished; but the numbers of them and the respect for the crowned heads made the matter go no further." In 1559 a small number of ministers from eleven churches, under the presidency of Francis de Morell, formed at Paris the first synod of the Protestant Church. They held their meetings secretly. In this synod was laid the foundation of the ecclesiastical constitution, and of that code of doctrine and discipline which afterwards, revised by Calvin in 1566, was presented to

the public. These same regulations, with occasional alterations, have been retained ever since their first promulgation, and they are the basis of the ecclesiastical law to the present day. At the conclusion of Henry's reign, which terminated in 1560, great numbers of the Reformed Church were burned at Paris: nor did this persecution diminish, but it rather increased, on the accession of his son Francis II., who being only sixteen years of age, was directed by his mother Catharine de Medicis and the family of Guise. The rising at Vassy, where the servants of the Duc de Guise assaulted the Protestants, and in which 60 were killed and 200 wounded, was the first open declaration of the views of that family towards the Reformed religion; and the hostility which they then manifested was pursued with relentless violence through those civil wars which desolated France for so many years.

In 1562 the ever-memorable Charles the Ninth succeeded to his brother. As he was only nine years of age at that time, the government remained in the hands of Catharine. Two years after this period, Calvin died. It does not appear that this great man, except at an early period of his life, took directly any personal part in prosecuting the Reformation in France: but it grew up under his inspection; and his authority was the acknowledged human standard of faith and duty. A number of cases, which are cited in the synodal acts of the church, appear to have been referred to his decision, and are published under the sanction of his name. The great learning, the uncommon acuteness, the undaunted courage, the indefatigable industry and perseverance of Calvin admirably adapted him to one portion of the duties which he was called to perform; but, judging from the history of his sway at Geneva, and the speedy degeneration of the institutions which he formed, it is very questionable whe-



ther his system was not one of too unbending severity to keep a permanent establishment when it was not maintained by his own personal influence.

In 1571 the Protestant Church in France had reached its highest point of prosperity. A synod was held at Rochelle, where the Queen of Navarre, Jean d'Albert, her son, afterwards Henry the Fourth, and two princes of the Royal family attended. At that time the Protestants had 2150 churches, some of which contained 10,000 members.

It may, perhaps be as well, at this point, to describe the regulations by which the whole establishment was carried on. Its government was purely Presbyterian. Its synod, composed of ministers and elders, deputed by different provinces, was presided over by a moderator, who, in the last mentioned synod, was no less a person than Beza; and it was attended, though not till after the year 1663, by an officer of the king, whose object was to see that none but ecclesiastical matters were subjects of discussion. In the synod were originated the general acts of the society. To it appeals were made by those who thought themselves aggrieved; and from it issued, with an equal and unsparing hand, decrees against which even persons of the highest rank and most daring spirit durst not oppose themselves. A collection of the synodal acts of the Church was made by Quick, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and printed by him in English. They are very interesting, inasmuch as they afford a view of the general state of the church itself, as well as its decisions upon many important questions. The representation which they give us of the church is very favourable to its general character. The ability of its members, the soundness of its political constitution, the strictness with which it acted upon the principles it professed, the sobriety of its decisions in particular cases,—all commended it

as well adapted for an extended and powerful hierarchy. It seemed to have nothing within it which marked decay, when it pleased the inscrutable providence of God that it should be visited with a cruel and desolating persecution, which entirely crippled its powers, and had nearly exterminated it altogether. This was the massacre of St. Bartholomew.—The deepest aversion to the views of the Protestants, had long dwelt in the minds of all connected with the court, except the few members of their own body. The plot for getting rid of the Reformed religion had long been meditated. To the queen-mother, as one of the family of Guise, the atrocious contrivance is due, of the means by which it was to be attempted. On the occasion of the marriage of Henry with the sister of Charles the Ninth, the whole body of Protestants were enticed to Paris. The mother of Henry, Jean d'Albert, one of the wisest and most pious women who ever adorned the high situation to which she was called, had been led to consent to this alliance, from a belief that it would lay the foundation of solid peace and spiritual prosperity in the kingdom. But she was the dupe of Catharine de Medicis; and she died, it is supposed by poison, two years before the general massacre. After the Admiral de Coligny, the champion of the Reformed cause, as he was really the head of the party, was fairly in the toils, the minds of the populace were exasperated against the Protestants by the contrivance of the Duke of Guise; and, by the command of the king, they were all given up to slaughter. The proclamation for their destruction was made at night, and at two o'clock in the morning the work of death began. The king himself is said to have shot from a gallery at some of the fugitives; and neither age, rank, nor character, afforded any protection to the unfortunate victims. Henry of Navarre, the brother-in-law of Charles, the Prince de Condé his uncle, and the

king's Physician, were alone exempted from destruction. Henry and de Condé were hurried from their beds, and dragged, not without danger, before the king, who, when they refused to be "converted," as the phrase ran, broke out into an excessive rage, declaring, that he would be obeyed as the vicegerent of God; that they must teach others to submit by their acquiescence; and that it became them no longer to hold themselves in opposition to the Holy Mother.—They were in consequence obliged to attend mass. The massacre was continued without cessation for three days, till the king became aghast at his own act; and his conscience was so haunted with images of murder and death that he directed it should cease.

Amongst the victims of this destruction was the Admiral de Coligny, one of the most distinguished politicians of his day, and equally illustrious for his rank, his attachment to the Protestant cause, and his remarkable piety. He of course became one of the first victims of the savage rage of his enemies. The duc de Guise himself directed the measures for his destruction; and to verify his death to the duc d'Angoulême, who accompanied him, he commanded his body to be thrown out of the window of his house. Amidst these scenes of murder and desolation, it is truly refreshing to revert to the character of this great and good man. He was the first nobleman of very high rank in France who had dared declare himself on the side of the Protestants; and this he did, not from political motives, but from the deepest attachment to the principles which they professed. Every morning and evening, he is recorded to have assembled his servants for domestic worship; to have attended a daily public service, and at every repast to have implored, with singing and prayer the blessing of God. He was zealous in the establishment of schools, and the extension of religion. He was indifferent to the

honours of the world, and left his estate rather the worse than the better for his use of it. A few days before his death, he was wounded by a bullet fired at him from the house of the duke of Guise. In a most painful operation for the extraction of the bullet, he said to those around him, "These wounds, my friends, are God's blessings. The smart of them indeed is troublesome, but I acknowledge the will of my God in the dispensation; and I bless His Divine Majesty, who hath been pleased thus to honour me, and to lay any pain upon me for his holy name's sake. Let us entreat of him to enable me to persevere to the end." To his minister Merlin, who seems to have resided in his family, he said, "If God had visited me according to my deserts, he must have dealt far more severely with me. But blessed be his name, who hath dealt so mildly and lovingly with his unworthy servant." He added; "Truly from my heart I freely forgive both him that shot at me, and those also who incited him to the deed. For I know assuredly, that it is not in their power to hurt me; no, though they should kill me; for my death is a most certain means of attaining eternal life." The prayer which he is recorded to have offered up, has much of the force and simplicity which mark the compositions of the earlier days of the church. "O Lord God, my heavenly Father, have compassion upon me for thy tender mercy's sake; remember not against me my former iniquities, neither charge me with the sins of my youth.—If thou, Lord, shouldst mark what I have done amiss, or shouldst impute the violations of thy covenant, what flesh could stand before thee, or endure thine anger? As for me, disclaiming all false gods and worship, I call only upon thee, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and worship thee alone for his sake. I beseech thee to bestow thy Holy Spirit upon me,

and to give me the grace of patience. I trust only in thy mercy : all my hope and confidence is placed on that alone. Whether thou pleasest to inflict present death upon me, or to spare my life to do thee further service, behold, Lord, I am prepared to submit to thy will ; nothing doubting, but if thou pleasest to inflict death upon me, thou wilt presently admit me into thine everlasting kingdom ! But if, Lord, thou sufferest me to live longer here, grant, O my heavenly Father, that I may spend all the remainder of my days in advancing thy glory, and in observing and adhering to thy true religion." The Admiral was visited by the king, who feigned the greatest sorrow at the atrocious attempt which had been made upon his life. Many persons, at the period of this attack, suspected the sincerity of the king and Catharine, who made zealous professions of friendship ; but the Admiral, full of faith and of courage, determined to wait the issue. On the fatal night, his house was assaulted. The staircase was so strongly barricaded that for a long time his enemies could not enter. In the mean time, his minister, Merlin, prayed with the whole family. When he had concluded, a servant coming in said, " Sir, God calleth us to himself : they have broken into the house, and we have no power to resist." His answer was very memorable ; and it was observed that while he uttered it his countenance was no more troubled than if no danger were at hand. " I perceive, said he, " what is doing : I was never afraid of death ; and I am ready to undergo it patiently, for which I have long since prepared my mind. I bless God that I shall die in the Lord, through whose grace I am elected to a hope of everlasting life. I now need no longer any help of man. You therefore, my friends, get ye hence as soon as ye can, lest ye be involved in my calamity, and your wives hereafter say that I was the cause of your destruction. The

presence of God, to whose goodness I commend the soul which will presently leave my body, is abundantly sufficient for me." His enemies soon reached him ; and to one, who asked whether he was the Admiral, he had only time to answer, " I am ; and you, young man, should respect my hoary head ;" when the swords of his enemies dismissed his spirit to its everlasting rest. The persons who were with him fled in different directions. Some climbed upon the tiles of the house, and others in other ways escaped. Of these Merlin the chaplain was one : he sheltered himself in a hay-loft ; and it is recorded, in the acts of the next synod after this event, in which he was moderator, that he was supported for three days by means of a hen, which deposited an egg daily near his place of refuge.

Sixty thousand Protestants, according to Sully, fell in this awful massacre ; and that it did not extend to the extermination of every individual, was, under Divine Providence, to be attributed to the caution of some who left the capital in time, the intrepidity of others, and the generous feeling of many of the Catholic officers, who refused to obey commands which they said belonged rather to executioners than to soldiers.

Charles the Ninth survived this event only one year. He lived, however, to repent of his crimes, and to suffer for them. His death was of that kind which it has pleased God often to inflict upon eminent persecutors of his church. He was tormented in mind and body, and sank into his untimely grave unhonoured even by his former friends, and unregretted by every lover of his country. During the concluding period of this reign, the Reformed Church was at a very low ebb. There could be no security that the anniversary of St. Bartholomew would not be celebrated with a recurrence of the same disasters. The heads of the church were gone. Henry of Navarre him-



self seems to have been in a sort of imprisonment; and the remainder of the scattered flock could scarcely be collected together. It was not till the year 1578, that another synod was held, and then no formal notice was taken of the late events. Almost the only allusion to them is in the appointment of a general fast. "Forasmuch," it is said, "as the times are very calamitous, and that our poor churches are daily menaced with many and sore tribulations, and that sins and vices are rising up and growing in upon us in a most fearful manner, a general day of prayer and fasting shall be published," &c.

Henry the Third succeeded his brother in 1574. He had in early life displayed those qualities which afterwards distinguished him; and the Protestants therefore could expect little that was favourable from his reign. His character did not indeed lead him to those daring acts which might have hastened the ruin of the Reformed Church; but his profligacy and folly made him an easy dupe to those whose passions or whose interest led them to desire its extermination. Its destruction was carried on by a more quiet but not less effectual method than had been before employed. During his reign, the great conflict for independence and religious liberty was being carried on in the Low Countries; and the successful issue of it gave respect and consideration to the Protestant cause wherever its supporters were found.

At length, in 1589, Henry the Fourth ascended the throne. Never had a prince been nurtured amidst greater dangers, concerned in more critical enterprizes, or come to a throne more encompassed with difficulties. He had been well educated by his excellent mother, whose prudence and power he inherited, but not her piety. Gay and dissolute in his habits, he lived constantly under the influence of women of evil character. These, however, were in no way suffered to interfere with

political matters, which he directed himself, aided by the Duc de Sully, one of the most faithful and able ministers that ever served a monarch. Henry was born in the Protestant faith, and had maintained his profession amidst the greatest temptations to abandon it. He had contended nobly against the religious faction which opposed his cause; and, although inflexibility was not one of his characteristics, he had never, except for a short time after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, been tempted to relinquish his profession. His character was bold and generous, prompt and active, liberal and courteous; and a ruling passion of his mind was the good of his country. In the year 1572, he married Margaret, sister of Charles the Ninth, from whom he was divorced. He married a second time Mary of Medicis. His marriage was the first step by which he allied himself to the Catholics; and it was doubted by some whether to it may not be traced another great error of his life, his abjuration of the Protestant faith, which took place in the year 1592. The reasons which led to this change, are plainly given by Sully, in his Memoirs. For twenty-six years France had been desolated by civil war, arising not only from the ambition of the Guises and the queen-mother, but also from party spirit, universally spread, on the subject of religion. There appeared to him no probable end of this conflict; for the league within France, and the king of Spain and the pope without, were able to have protracted the war for many years. In the mean time, the whole of Henry's life was likely to be spent in this useless struggle, which, whilst it prevented him from giving attention to the internal regulations of his kingdom, inflicted upon it all the desolation and horror of civil war. If he should succeed in the conflict, it would be only by means which would leave him but half a kingdom to govern. On the other hand, if he should fall in the con-

flict, as the cause of Protestantism in the kingdom depended upon himself, he would leave the Protestants a prey to exasperated enemies without having secured for them any single advantage. His abjuration Sully thought to be a measure which promised entirely to foil his political foes; which would compose in the easiest manner the differences which existed; which offered the fewest present inconveniences; and which might, if contrary to his calculation it should bring with it any serious evil, be the most easily remedied. Besides, in Sully's opinion, to become Catholic from Protestant, or Protestant from Catholic, if the alteration was made on the grounds of political expediency, was only to change for the advantage of religion itself, and to give it that benefit which would accrue to either profession by the more favourable circumstances in which it would be placed. Sully had, moreover, an idea that the spirit of persecution formed a component part of the Roman-Catholic Religion, but would never spring up again when once his master had offered the sacrifices of his Protestant principles at the altar of the church. Henry himself also expected, by putting an end to the spirit of opposition on the ground of religious difference, that he should deserve the admiration of future ages. The avowed reasons for his change were, first, The greater certainty of salvation which the one religion presented above the other; for the Protestants could not maintain with the same confidence as the Catholics, that no man could be saved out of their own pale, and therefore it was concluded that the Catholic stood on the safer ground; and, secondly, The desire of embracing that mode of religion which was the most popular among his subjects. Another motive for the change is, however, suggested by Sully, which was the real predilection which Henry entertained for the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Nor was this wonderful; for in pro-

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portion as any scheme of religion substituted form for spirit; external requirements for a change of heart; in the degree in which it could be made to gloss over an indulgence in habits of sin, and make some act of temporal sacrifice a compensation for transgression, would such a scheme approve itself to a man of loose character, but whose mind did not altogether approve the path he was pursuing. This was the case with Henry. Educated by a religious mother, who had placed around him men of great acquirements and piety, his conscience could not but be well instructed. His prevailing temptation was to intemperance in sensual indulgences. His Protestant teachers could offer him no salvo, whilst he continued in habits of sin; and the faithful sermons which he was called to hear must have been as daggers to his mind. But he would not be exposed to the same inconvenience in the Roman-Catholic Church. Confession to a priest was an easy penance to a man whose sins were as notorious as the noon-day; and, after confession he might depend upon absolution. The absolution, too, which he thus obtained had no inconvenient qualification annexed to it: it was absolute, and extended to every sin; and it was sure, for the alleged power of the keys is all but infinite.

(To be continued.)

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FAMILY SERMONS.—No. CXCIV.

Romans xv. 5, 6. *Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be like minded one towards another; according to Christ Jesus; that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

ST. PAUL, in this Epistle, was writing to persons who differed greatly in many subordinate points, but who all professed to agree in one, that of being disciples of Jesus Christ. To this as to a common bond, he appeals, earnestly desiring, that they

might be closely united in spirit, avoiding both the false doctrines and the evil practises which he had exposed in the course of his Epistle ; and increasingly becoming partakers of those exalted privileges which he had so glowingly described. He well knew how great are the benefits of the Christian Church of a spirit of union ; and how hateful and dangerous is a contrary disposition. Throughout his Epistles, he dwells frequently upon the necessity and loveliness of this divine badge of our holy profession. He speaks of the members of the church of Christ in all ages and nations as one body, each sympathising with each, and ministering to the welfare of all ; “the whole body being fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, making increase of the body to the edifying of itself in love.” Be therefore, he says, “of one mind, and live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.” In heaven there is complete union of sentiment and of purpose, among all its blessed inhabitants. So also paradise, before the fall of man, was a scene of union ; but sin expelled this heavenly guest, and our corrupted earth became the seat of conflict and disorder. Christianity is intended—and would that its operation were universal and complete !—to reunite mankind in a holy brotherhood ; for its proclamation, as announced on the morning of the nativity, was “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.” The Saviour himself prayed that his disciples might all be one : and the promises also of the glory of the latter day point to this delightful consummation. It is the privilege then, and the duty of each individual member of the church of Christ, to cherish in himself, and to promote in others this spirit of unity and godly love ; and, with a view to assist and en-

courage us in so doing, we shall from the words of the text consider,

*First*, The blessing for which the Apostle prays ; and, *secondly*, Some circumstances connected with it, which may be gathered from the prayer itself.

*First*, We are to notice the blessing for which the Apostle prays : “*That ye may be like-minded, one towards another.*” Differences of opinion, followed by alienation of heart, deform the church of Christ ; disturbing the peace of its members, and rendering it a prey to its enemies. On the other hand, like-mindedness is spoken of throughout Scripture, as a blessing of inestimable value. It was the promise of God to Israel, “They shall be my people, and I will be their God ; and I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for the good of them and of their children after them.” This blessing includes, to its perfection, unity of opinion and union of heart.

I. Unity of opinion. In the fundamental truths of the Gospel, we have an ample basis for a common agreement, especially when we refer these truths to our own personal condition. Must we not, for instance, readily acknowledge ourselves to be the creatures of an all-wise, all-powerful, and infinitely good Being, who hath made us, and not we ourselves ? As such, do we not feel that we owe to him our best and undivided services ; that it is our duty to love him, with all our heart, and soul, and mind, and strength ; to submit to his laws, to set him always before us, and to avoid every thing that interferes with our obedience to his commands ? Again, does not our conscience witness, that we have not done so ? He has bestowed upon us favours, and we have not loved him ; he has held out threatenings, and we have not feared him ; he has offered promises, which we have rejected ; he has called, and



we have not answered: he has been patient, and we have despised his long suffering and forbearance; he has warned us, and we would not listen to his remonstrances; he hath soothed us, and we refused to be reconciled; he has invited us to the enjoyment of his favour, and we preferred the sins and trifles of a rebellious and unsatisfying world. Must we not then further admit the truth of those scriptural declarations which represent God as justly offended at our conduct? Can we doubt, that we have given him ample cause for displeasure? Could we feel surprised, if he had at once cut us off, and “sworn in his wrath that we should not enter into his rest?” So far then from turning, with unbelief and hardness of heart, from such fearful threatenings as that “the wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God,” must we not acknowledge that they are but too justly applicable to our own case? Must not conscience confirm the record of God, and pronounce before hand the sentence of his displeasure? And further, is there any plea which we can offer, to prevent the execution of the punishment? Are we not brought in guilty, and self-condemned before our Maker? And, even if we should now at length turn to him, what is to atone for the past, or to give us strength for the future, that we may not again offend him? Do we not then perceive the necessity for a sacrifice for our transgressions? And are we not thus led with joyful submission, to receive those merciful declarations of Scripture, that “Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;” that “God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them;” and that “he made him who knew no sin, to be sin (that is, a sin-offering) for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him?” Are we not prepared to embrace, with gratitude of heart, the mercy thus freely offered; to believe in

Christ to the salvation of our souls; and do we not learn to value the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, to lead us to Christ, to enlighten our understandings, and to renew our hearts? Could we dispense with any one of the doctrines or precepts of Scripture? Do we not see the suitableness of all of them to our fallen condition? And ought we not to be devoutly thankful for such a merciful provision for our necessities? We may differ in opinion upon nice points of doubtful disputation; but upon all that involves the essentials of faith and conduct, the circumstances of our own personal cases, if we are practical Christians, and our instruction by the same Divine Spirit will lead us to no small degree of like-mindedness in the opinions which we derive from the word of God. And on these we shall love to dwell, rather than on questionable controversies, which lead neither to soundness of faith nor to holiness of life.

2. The blessing of like-mindedness especially includes *union of heart*. The Christians to whom the Apostle was writing entertained various opinions respecting meats, and drinks, and holydays; and even in matters of faith, some of them had not yet attained to a perfect knowledge of the Gospel which they professed. The Apostle therefore prays that they might be like-minded one towards another; doubtless as far as possible in uniformity of judgment; but, where this was not attainable, in union of affection, as children of the same Heavenly Parent, disciples of the same Master, redeemed with the same Blood, and professing, as brethren, to be travelling together towards the same heavenly inheritance. Even where they were not exactly united in opinion, they were not to hold their sentiments in a harsh intolerant spirit, but to “seek peace, and ensue it;” not to judge one another, but “to judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall, in his

brother's way ;" to bear the infirmities of the weak ;" to be " of one accord, and of one mind ;" " endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Errors and partial differences of sentiment might not always be avoidable ; but these were not to be inflamed by unkindness and uncharitableness of heart. In their mutual discussions, they were not to advance towards their fellow-Christians as warriors to the battle, but with the olive branch of peace in their hands, prepared to yield their own most cherished wishes, or interests, or prejudices in the cause of truth and charity.

But, *secondly*, there are several circumstances connected with the Apostle's prayer, which deserve our consideration. These are, first, the Author of the Christian grace which he implores, " the God of patience and consolation ;" secondly, the law or pattern of it, " according to Christ Jesus ;" and, thirdly, an important end to which it conduces,—namely, " that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

1. The Apostle reminds us of the Author of this Christian grace. It comes from " the God of patience and consolation ;"—" the author of every good and perfect gift," who alone " maketh men to be of one mind in a house." Most fitly does the Apostle address him as " the God of patience and consolation ;" for not only does he bestow the grace of patience, but he exhibits it in his own character ; and while we call to mind how greatly he has borne with us, we should learn to imitate his example by bearing with our fellow-creatures. We should earnestly entreat him that he would make us gentle and patient, by subduing in us those proud and irritable passions which are causes of so much disturbance ; and that in our humble search after truth, he would bestow upon us those Divine consolations which will support our souls amidst reproach or opposition. For it is as a God of consolation as well

as of patience that the Apostle addresses him when imploring the blessing of like-mindedness one towards another. The reason of this will appear very clearly, from the opening verses of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians ; where the Apostle says, " If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies ;" that is, by the consolation which most undoubtedly is in him, by the motives derived from his cross, by his love and compassion, by your communion with him, by your hopes of his favour, your reliance on his Spirit, your expectations of his eternal glory ; " fulfil ye my joy, that ye may be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind."

2. A second circumstance alluded to by the Apostle is the law or pattern of this Christian grace ; namely, " according to Christ Jesus ;" that is, according to his doctrines, and according to his precepts and example.

Our like-mindedness must, in the first place, be according to the *doctrines* of Christ. It must not be an indifference to truth, or a sacrifice of the dictates of conscience to a false peace. We are to contend earnestly, though meekly, for the faith ; and must give diligent search, with, humble prayer to God, that we may not err in it. The Bible is the great standard of agreement ; and to it are we to appeal in all points of difficulty. We must " walk by the same rule," if we would truly " mind the same thing." It is not by our own fancies, or by the opinions of others, that we are to regulate our creed : these may deceive us, and our agreement may be only an agreement in error : but the word of God is infallible ; and in proportion as we study and follow it, we shall obtain that like-mindedness with the universal church of Christ which arises from one common appeal to the same inspired test, and one common illumination by the same Spirit ; that Christian and spiritual union which the Apostle meant

when he said, "I beseech Euodias, and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord."

This like-mindedness is also according to the precepts and example of Christ. The Apostle often appeals to this powerful argument. Thus, to the Ephesians, he says, "Walk in love, even as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us." The whole Gospel of our Redeemer is calculated to cherish such a spirit. It presents to us, "one body, one spirit, one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and Father of all." Our Lord, in his prayer, just before he was betrayed, repeated again and again the petition already quoted, that his disciples might be all one. And, in his own conduct, how careful was he to prevent, among his followers, every discordant sentiment and jarring feeling! How forcibly did he inculcate humility and mutual forbearance by his own spotless example! How willingly did he himself sacrifice every thing for the sake of others; how cheerfully submit to every office of benevolence; how meekly allure men to the reception of his heavenly doctrines; how candidly listen to every objection; how patiently resolve every doubt; how fearlessly maintain truths the most unwelcome to the public ear, yet with a meekness and dignity which ought to have disarmed malice itself, and to have converted even his enemies into friends. Surely, for the professed followers of such a Saviour, to be otherwise than like-minded among themselves, or, at the least, studious of cherishing such a spirit as tends to produce this blessed effect where it does not already exist, would be a paradox indeed.

3. The Apostle exhibits to us an important end to which this like-mindedness conduces; namely, that we may "with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." The glory of God should be the great object of the Christian's desire, as it

is the first petition of his daily prayer, "Hallowed be thy name." Now, in no way can we honour him more than by a devout union of heart and mind in his service. While the Roman converts were eagerly disputing among themselves, they were unfitted for thus joining together in the homage due to their common Lord; they had neither one mind nor one mouth; so that there could be no profitable worship of a social or public nature. Such a state of things the Apostle earnestly deprecates; and, in so doing, he introduces a circumstance well calculated to effect his conciliating purpose; for he speaks of the great object of worship, as "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," thus reminding us of those affecting motives to Christian unity already alluded to, and all of which flow from the cross of Christ. As though he had said, Not merely by the terrors of the law; not merely by the dread of punishment; but by our professed love to our dying Saviour, and by our gratitude to God the Father who freely gave him as a sacrifice for our transgressions, let us be like-minded one towards another; let us imitate his meek and affectionate example; let us dread to violate the unity of his church; let us guard against a spirit of discord or disorder; and let us endeavour to grow daily in those heavenly virtues which are the bond of peace, and unanimity, and joy.

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*For the Christian Observer.*

#### ON THE USE AND IMPORTANCE OF BIBLICAL STUDIES.

THE slight degree of attention paid by the great body of theological students in this country, to the original language of the Old Testament, has been often and justly lamented. At different periods of our history, we have indeed had men among us who have cultivated this department of literature with splendid success, and applied it



with signal ability to the elucidation of the Scriptures. But still it cannot be denied that little comparatively has been done, and that our countrymen, while they have extended their researches to almost every subject, either literary or scientific, have been far eclipsed by the continental nations, both in the number of those who have devoted themselves to this study, and in the extent to which these inquiries have been carried. By far the greater part even of our clergy are entirely unacquainted with the Hebrew text, and few indeed are critically versed in its niceties; though upon them as the accredited guardians of religion, devolves the office of explaining and enforcing the truths which it contains. This circumstance will appear the more surprising, when we consider the ardour with which theological studies in general have been prosecuted amongst us—the number and variety of our religious controversies, both amongst the members of our own church, and the seceders from her pale—and the zeal, for which we have long been distinguished as a nation, for practical piety and devotion.

In the hope that some of your readers may be induced to consider this subject with the attention which it deserves, and be led to the cultivation of a much neglected field of inquiry, I beg to offer a few thoughts, upon the use and importance of Biblical studies. It is gratifying to witness the growing interest which they have of late begun to excite in our universities: (I allude more particularly to one of them :) nor can we speak too highly of those whose zeal and piety have been employed in enkindling the flame. May it spread far and wide, and be the means under the merciful providence of God, of promoting in an eminent degree that "sound knowledge and religious education" for which, in our university pulpits, we are statedly called upon to pray.

Much might be said relative to the advantages to be reaped from Hebrew literature, considered merely as a literary pursuit. To the antiquarian and philologist it opens a most interesting and extensive field of view. But it is in its more particular application, as being the channel through which, from the earliest times, the streams of Divine Revelation have flowed, that it has an especial claim to our regard. Like the Ark of the Covenant, it has been for ages the depository of those sacred records, which were written with the finger of God, and conveyed to mankind a transcript of his will.

As the Bible is the only source from which a knowledge of true religion can be derived, it becomes a matter of the first importance, that the language in which it is written be properly explained; for any inference which is deduced from incorrect or imperfect views of it, is an inference, not from the word of God, but from the opinions of men. It is impossible to say how many false ideas have been formed upon the most momentous truths, how many unscriptural tenets maintained, how many disputes excited from the circumstance of our making a translation, and not the original Scriptures, our text book in divinity. The excellence of our English version is universally admitted; but the study of Oriental literature, and of Biblical criticism, like every other pursuit which has occupied the time and ingenuity of man, has been making continual progress since that translation first appeared. Without therefore in any degree depreciating either the labour or the learning of those excellent men who bequeathed to us this invaluable testimony of their powers of learning and sound criticism, we may fairly infer that every biblical student of the present day would derive incomparable benefit, were he to imitate their example as well as profit by their experience, and lay the foundation of his theological

knowledge in an accurate and extensive acquaintance with the Hebrew text. In the case of the New Testament, every sound classical scholar will be ready to admit, that, although a translation may suffice extremely well for the practical and devotional study of its contents, it is only by a careful attention to the Greek original, that he can become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of its several authors, and enter into all those nicer shades of meaning which distinguish their respective compositions. Now, whatever be the value of this argument as far as concerns the due interpretation of the New Testament, it is equally applicable to the language of the Old. We are too much in the habit of considering the Scriptures as a single and entire volume, to be interpreted throughout upon identically the same principles, without any reference to the distinguishing character of the authors of its several parts, or the peculiar use of words in the ages in which they respectively wrote. The canon of Scripture being complete, and our attention being habitually directed to it through the medium of a translation, which, being coeval in all its parts, has thrown a clothing of the same texture over many things essentially distinct, we forget, while studying its contents, that ages intervened between the composition of its extreme books,—and that the same or similar circumstances which modified the beautiful language of Greece, exerted an influence of the same kind, though perhaps differing in degree, upon the vernacular tongue of the Jews. The analogy that subsists between the changes incidental to language, and to the beings whose ideas it embodies, holds good in this as in other instances. The golden and silver ages of Hebrew literature are perfectly distinct, and a correct understanding of their varieties is essential to a full knowledge of Scripture. The language of poetry again is different in some respects

from the sober livery of prose.—Now all this, whatever be its value in the due interpretation of the Bible, must be lost to one who is ignorant of the language employed. It is true that the less instructed may avail themselves of the light which has been thrown upon these subjects by the labours of the learned; but we might as well expect to see with the eyes of another man, as to reap the full advantage of another man's intellectual labours, unless our own minds be to a certain degree informed. Without this prerequisite, we have not the means of judging respecting the accuracy or even the probability of such matters as are brought before us. We cannot, in short, have an opinion of our own. The necessary consequence of this inability is, that our views are confined, and our judgment becomes enslaved to the opinions of others, in whose assertions we have been taught implicitly to confide.

It is not intended, in these remarks, to exalt above its proper rank, the value of human learning, as subsidiary to the study of the Scriptures—nor to place it at all in competition with that teaching of God which is indispensably requisite. Neither, again, is it intended to imply that it is the duty of all divines to forsake the province of expository theology, and to give themselves to the critical study of divinity. Let the basis of our knowledge be laid in deep humility. Let us earnestly desire and heartily pray for the continual illumination of God's Holy Spirit, without which, though we had investigated all the stores of antiquity, we should be but as the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal. But let us at the same time open our eyes to the fact that we are living under an ordinary, not an extraordinary dispensation of that Spirit; and that we cannot attain, but by his blessing on our diligent research, that knowledge which in the miraculous ages was conveyed

by immediate inspiration. Where the degrees of piety, diligence, and all other circumstances are equal, the best theologian and most learned man will make the most useful divine. It becomes us, therefore, in our measure, to aim at what may be extensively useful, though not to the exclusion of other things, which our particular circumstances may render more expedient.

Upon the importance of duly understanding the Old Testament, we might fairly build the necessity of Hebrew learning. But this is not all. The influence which its language has exercised upon that of the New gives it an additional importance, of which the biblical student ought not to lose sight. Without a competent knowledge of it, we cannot avail ourselves of the labours of such men as Lightfoot and Schoettgen, whose researches in Rabbinical literature have enabled them to illustrate its phraseology to a degree which could scarcely have been conceived. This knowledge is also necessary to enable the Biblical student duly to appreciate that irrefragable argument for the genuineness of the Christian Records which arises from the peculiar style and dialect in which they are penned. The Latinisms which a classical scholar will detect in them, may convince him that the age of their appearance must have been subsequent to the triumph of the Roman arms, and the consequent introduction of many of the political terms of Roman origin into the conquered lands. An acquaintance with Hebrew will give additional value to the argument.—Every chapter of the New Testament affords decisive evidence to one who is versed in Oriental idioms, that it could have been written only by a Jew. A work written in Greek, imbued with the phraseology and idiomatic expressions of Palestine, and bearing distinct marks of being composed under the preponderance of the Roman power,

carries along with it incontestable proof of the date to which it should be assigned. Nor, amidst the mass of evidence upon which we build our holy faith, is this a consideration lightly to be regarded.

Another benefit, and one of no small importance, resulting from an enlarged acquaintance with Biblical learning in its purest form is its tendency to promote peace, and to soften the asperity of religious disputation. The most vehement of all controversies are those which are founded in prejudice and contracted views. The higher we ascend in the search of truth, the more do we rise above the mists and exhalations which brood upon the valley beneath. In the progress of our inquiries, if we do not arrive at the same conclusions with others, we learn at least that there is room to differ, and can endure to see our fellow-student adopt a different persuasion to our own, without feeling a conviction that ours must inevitably be correct. It is true, indeed, that "knowledge puffeth up: but it is knowledge when abused; and I must again remark, that I am not instituting a comparison between piety and learning; but between a pious man, who has superadded the blessings of learning to those of religion, and an uninformed though devoted servant of God. How many of the disputes and schisms which have rent the Christian church might have been avoided, but for that positiveness which is the inseparable companion of ignorance!

It has been objected to the study of Hebrew that it tends to unsettle the mind, and to involve in perplexity many points, which but for its interference would have been clear and undisturbed. It may indeed, as enlarged knowledge always will, teach us to call in question some positions which we may have imbibed in our very childhood, and from long acquaintance have learned to consider sacred. But no thinking man will allow this to be any



argument against improvement in Biblical any more than in any other science. The immutable interests of truth can never suffer from knowledge well applied.

It is well known that Oriental literature has been of late years prosecuted with astonishing success upon the continent, and especially in the universities of Germany. The most philosophical grammars in Hebrew, as in other languages, with the most copious and accurate lexicons of the Oriental tongues, have been imported from that country into our own. Happy would it have been, had the knowledge so well acquired, been in all instances directed to the purest ends. But this unhappily has not been invariably the case. A system of interpretation has been widely adopted by the continental theologians, which, if fully acted upon, would rob Revelation of all its peculiarities. There are indeed, even among their own body, honourable exceptions of persons who have stood forward in opposition to the wild hypotheses of the German theologians; but the infection has spread far and widely, and has produced consequences which the Christian student cannot sufficiently lament. It is extremely desirable that the lovers of sound doctrine should meet such critics as those to whom I allude, upon their own ground. The writings of the German divines are beginning to be extensively circulated in this country, and will undoubtedly be more so, from the quantity of philological information which they convey. The only safeguard against the wild and unscriptural opinions conveyed in them, is to be found in the successful culture and proper application of Biblical knowledge. With the same weapons also must we combat, as they from time to time arise, the false and injurious doctrines which the Unitarians of our own country are continually endeavouring to obtrude upon the pages of the sacred volume. The most illiterate Christian, with the

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vernacular version in his hand, may indeed easily confute their unscriptural opinions; but as they appeal from this simple process to elaborate philological arguments, it is necessary that the sound Biblical student should be able to meet them in this arena, and thus to overturn, as has hitherto been most triumphantly done, their unhallowed speculations.

An extraordinary zeal for the diffusion of the truth in foreign lands is one of those characteristics of the present age, upon which it is impossible for a considerate and Christian mind to reflect without feelings of the most lively satisfaction. The Christian beholds in this anxiety a pledge of the reality of that principle which has given it birth. He dwells upon it with delight, as affording a happy anticipation of those glorious days, pointed out, as he believes, in the shadowy forms and obscure though glowing language of prophecy, when the blessing which he has long considered his own will cease to be so in a peculiar and distinctive manner; the knowledge of God's word, like the light and heat of the great luminary of heaven, having gone forth unto all lands, and the sound thereof unto the ends of the earth. To both Jew and Gentile the voice of invitation is now addressed, that the wall of partition being broken down, they may all become one fold under one Shepherd. The expedients to which Christian benevolence may have recourse to the furtherance of these objects, are as diversified as the various situations and circumstances of those in whose breasts it dwells. Perhaps, however, it may not be too much to say, that a life devoted to Oriental studies in general, and with an especial reference to Biblical criticism and interpretation, might, by God's blessing, be a gift, than which it would be impossible in the present state of the church to cast one more valuable into the treasury of Christian love. A knowledge of Hebrew and of the

Hebrew Scriptures is the only weapon wherewith we can hope to assail the Jew. Entrenching himself in prejudices which education and habit have fortified, with the conviction that his has long been an injured and persecuted race, he betakes himself to a species of argument, the subtleties of which can be unravelled only by those who are acquainted with the language to which he refers, and the peculiar nature of the criticism which has been employed upon it. And who, when Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands for the word of God, will be able to satisfy their cravings, and to impart to them the bread of life, but those who possess such facilities of communication, as a knowledge of their vernacular tongue can alone supply?

To the Christian who delights in the devotional study of the sacred volume, and like the Psalmist, meditates therein day and night, it must be a source of unspeakable satisfaction to have access to the original languages in which it was composed. To sing the songs of Zion in their native beauty—to en-

joy communion with the saints of old—and enkindle the flame of piety upon the same altar, are privileges of high value. Nor are they mere gratifications only, but they are often productive of great spiritual benefit, opening to us unnumbered associations calculated to affect the mind, and to assist us in worshipping God in spirit and in truth. The Hebrew Psalter has been found by many Christians, what there is reason to believe it was to our blessed Lord himself, a manual of devotion and praise. Bishop Horne has recorded, in the Preface to his Commentary, how rich and various were the joys which he experienced while engaged in the study of it. The pleasure of which he speaks may be that also of every Biblical student, if only his literary attainments be made subservient to the same hallowed purposes; for the permission to draw water with gladness out of these wells of salvation is unlimited. Would that all felt that thirst which nothing but the water from this living spring can satisfy!

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### Miscellaneous.

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*For the Christian Observer.*

#### SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR.

WE have promised to lay before our readers a full view of our sentiments on the subject of Slave-grown Sugar. The following paper, recently issued by the Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing Slavery throughout the British Dominions, has so well expressed those sentiments, that we shall insert it as containing a satisfactory solution of that important question.

The attention of the Committee of this Society having been called to the increasing reluctance which is

felt, by many persons to the consumption of Slave-grown Sugar, and numerous applications having been addressed to them for their opinion on the propriety of abstaining from its use, they have been induced to take the question into their deliberate consideration.

It will be recollected, that, in their Report delivered to the general body on the 25th of June 1824, the Committee adverted briefly to this subject; intimating, that should no effectual legislative measures be adopted for abolishing Colonial Slavery, it would still be in the power of the community at large to promote that object, by renouncing the use of Sugar grown by Slaves,

and using in its stead the produce of Free labour.

The Committee took the same opportunity of obviating the main objection to such an expedient which had arisen, or was likely to arise, in the minds of conscientious individuals; namely, that to lower the price of Sugar would aggravate the sufferings and increase the privations of the Slaves.

They declared it, on the contrary, to be, and certainly it continues to be, their firm conviction, (a conviction founded in the very nature of a state of compulsory and uncompensated labour and, strengthened by all the lights of experience,) that whatever tends to raise the price of Slave-grown produce tends, in the same degree, to rivet the chains and to add to the labour and misery of the Slave; while a material diminution in its price must operate beneficially both in relaxing his bonds, abating his toil, and enlarging his comforts. This view of the subject was briefly illustrated, in the Committee's last Report, by a reference to the contrasted cases of the Bahamas and Demerara.\*

Thus stood the question at the last General Meeting of the Society;

\* As the whole of this subject is highly important, the Committee propose forthwith to prepare a brief view of it for general circulation, and in the mean time they would direct the attention of their friends to the following publications, as illustrative of it: namely, their own last Report, pp. 34, 35;—*East and West India Sugar*, pp. 79—88;—*Mr. Croppers pamphlets, entitled, Relief for West-India Distress; A Letter on the injurious Effects of High and the beneficial Effects of Low Prices on the Condition of the Slaves; and the Support of Slavery investigated;—A safe and permanent Remedy for the Distress of the West-Indian Planters, by a West-Indian;—Review of the Quarterly Review on Colonial Slavery*, pp. 91—104;—*Letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq.; M. P., by the Author of East and West-India Sugar*, (in this pamphlet also, the misrepresentations are exposed by which it was sought to prove that the peasantry of Bengal are slaves);—and *Mr. Stephen's Delineation of West-Indian Slavery*, pp. 456—474, where the subject is most ably and conclusively treated.

but the growing interest which it has excited in the public mind since that time has obliged the Committee to take a nearer and more practical view of its bearings than seemed to be then necessary.

It is undoubtedly a subject of cordial congratulation, that there should have spontaneously arisen so strong and prevalent a desire to abstain from Slave-grown Sugar; inasmuch as it affords an unanswerable proof of the extent and force of those moral principles, on the influence of which the Committee have always chiefly relied for the final triumph of their cause. On a question of this nature, however, they are inclined to follow rather than to lead the judgment and feelings of their friends throughout the kingdom. In as far as abstinence from Slave-grown sugar may be regarded as a matter of conscience, they feel that they have no right to interfere, but must leave the question to be decided by each individual for himself according to the dictates of his own conscience. At the same time, on the supposition of the continued and effectual resistance of the colonies to the adoption of those reforms which have been proposed by his Majesty's Government, they can contemplate no measure for attaining their ultimate objects more certain in its operation than the *general* substitution of Sugar grown by Free labour for that which is grown by Slaves.

Such a measure, however, would by no means necessarily exclude the Sugar of the West Indies. On the contrary, the Committee hope that the course pursued by at least some of the colonies might lead to a preference of their produce founded on this very principle. Those colonies which may adopt such reforms as lead to the extinction of Slavery, and which should thus honourably distinguish themselves from those which persist in rejecting improvement, and in seeking to perpetuate the present vicious and cruel system,



would indeed establish an undeniable claim on the favour and encouragement of the British public. For who could better deserve support and countenance than those who, in spite of the example of their neighbours, the prejudices of education, and the force of habit, resolutely determine to act upon the just principles and enlightened views which have been presented to their adoption by the humanity and wisdom of his Majesty's Government? The same encouragement, therefore, which may be given to the produce of free labour, would, without doubt, be justly due to every colony which, though still involved in some of the evils of Slavery, yet should cordially embrace, and honestly prosecute, effectual measures for their termination.

In drawing such a line of distinction, whenever the supposed case shall arise, the Committee believe that the friends of Negro emancipation will be promoting, and not retarding, those more efficient measures of direct legislative enactment which are most unquestionably the best means of attaining in the colonies at large the great ends of the recorded resolutions of Parliament on this subject. But if, notwithstanding the protracted resistance of the Colonial Assemblies, of which the latest accounts from the colonies afford but too decisive evidence, the supreme Legislature should still decline to interpose thus directly, we may yet hope that it may be induced to control the refractory by such fiscal regulations as shall ensure a decided preference in the home market, if not to all Sugar the produce of free labour grown within the British dominions, yet, at least, to that which is the produce of settlements where the recommendations of his Majesty's Government shall have been fully and effectually adopted and enforced.

Such an interference on the part of the Legislature would unquestionably be far more certain and

immediate, as well as more powerful in its operation, than any voluntary efforts or sacrifices of individuals; for, in order to produce adequate results by these means, a more extensive concurrence of the people of this country, in the plan of abstaining from Slave-grown Sugar, would be necessary than can reasonably be expected to be immediately or very speedily obtained. This consideration, however, needs not cause any despair of ultimate success. On the contrary, it would furnish a stronger stimulus to persevering exertions on the part of those who may be induced on conscientious grounds to adopt this plan, in order that others may gradually be wrought upon, by their influence and example, to pursue the same course, until the practice shall become sufficiently extended to produce the desired effect. It cannot be doubted, as the Committee have already remarked, that its *general* adoption would tend powerfully to the extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies.

But, although the Committee entertain no doubt that an adequate effect might thus in the course of time be produced, notwithstanding the various difficulties by which such a plan would, in practice, necessarily be attended, they are happy in believing that there exist other means by which that effect may not only be more surely attained, but by which it may be greatly accelerated, as well as much more widely extended.

Unquestionably by far the most prompt and effectual of those means, as the Committee have more fully stated in their last Report, would be the repeal of all restrictive duties on the Sugars of British India; and to this most important object the Committee trust that the deliberations of Parliament, and the earnest prayers of the people of the United Kingdom, will be directed.

But even if this hope should fail, the Committee still believe it to be in the power of the friends of eman-

cipation, by giving direct encouragement to the increased production of Sugar by Free labour, in no long time so to lower the cost of the article as to make it the clear interest not only of the whole population of the United Kingdom, but of all Europe, to give a preference to such Sugar, and thus to lead them, of themselves and spontaneously, to contribute their assistance in depriving the existing system of Slavery, in the Foreign as well as in the British Colonies, of its main support; and thus also to put a final period to that Slave Trade, which, to the indelible disgrace of certain European powers, and in contempt of their solemn engagements, still prevails under their flags on the coast of Africa.

That the labour of Free men is more advantageous than the labour of Slaves, and that the produce of the former is to be obtained on cheaper terms than that of the latter, are points on which this Committee entertain no doubt, and which are now admitted as axioms by every writer of authority on the science of political economy.

If a proof were required of the truth of these propositions, it would be found in the pertinacity with which the West Indians and their friends maintain the protecting duty against East-India Sugar, and the eagerness with which they have sought to increase it. Notwithstanding the oppressive weight of that impost, notwithstanding the aggravation of all the charges of transport by the distance of the place of its growth, notwithstanding the great imperfection and expensiveness of the rude process by which it is at present manufactured, notwithstanding the absence of encouragement from the application of British capital and skill to its production; notwithstanding all these disadvantages, some descriptions of the Sugar of Hindostan come even now into direct competition with the Sugars of the West Indies in the market of Great

Britain. This single circumstance appears to be conclusive. It appears to prove clearly that the Free-grown Sugars of British India might be sold, if the present protecting duty were removed, considerably cheaper than the Slave-grown Sugar of the British West Indies.

But this is not the only proof which may be adduced of the superiority of Free over Slave labour.

Prior to the opening of the trade to Hindostan, very little Cotton was brought from that country to Europe. Although the protecting duty in favour of West-India Cotton was small, yet East-India freights were so enormous (about 32*l.* a ton) that it was impossible to import Cotton thence with advantage. Since the opening of the trade with India however, and the consequent reduction of freights, East-India Cotton has been imported in such quantities, and at so low a rate, as to reduce the price of that article all over the world to about half its former amount.

A still more striking exemplification of the principle for which the Committee are contending, is supplied by the Indigo Trade. Forty or fifty years ago, little or no Indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of Slave labour. A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly discouraged in the first instance, yet the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such indeed has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling Free labour into action, that notwithstanding the enormous freights which for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the Indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market the Indigo grown by Slaves;

until at length, with the help of the free trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of Indigo the produce of Slave labour, imported into Europe; while the value of the Indigo grown in British India amounts to nearly four million sterling annually. The only existing competitors, in this branch of trade, are the Free labourers of Guatemala and the Caraccas; and their competition, which had for a time been nearly extinguished, is now only reviving with the new-born liberties of those regions.

Encouraged by such pregnant examples, the Committee have been induced to look with much care and solicitude into the circumstances of the Sugar Trade of British India. A mass of valuable information having been obtained on the subject from the records of the East-India Company, the practical result of that information has been abstracted and embodied in a pamphlet recently published for the Society by Hatchard, and entitled, "*East-India Sugar; or an Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies.*"

In this pamphlet the defects in the present mode of manufacturing Sugar in India are pointed out, and the means are also specified by which those defects may be remedied, the quality of the Sugar greatly improved, and the cost of its production very materially diminished. And it seems now no longer a matter of doubt, provided only the simple and obvious improvements there suggested should be adopted, that it should be possible to import the Sugar of India into this country, especially if the oppressive protecting duty of 10s. a cwt. were removed, so as materially to undersell the Sugar grown by Slaves\*.

\* It would be impossible, in this brief address, even to enumerate all the advantages which, in addition to the annual saving to the country of at least 1,500,000*l.*, must

In a country, however, circumstanced as India is, the same means of promoting the culture of Sugar

result from the removal of the bounties and restrictions on the Trade of Sugar. The experience of the past year has abundantly proved the beneficial effect of such a measure in other branches of trade. Not to mention the benefit which India would derive from the development of her resources, and Ireland from the impulse which must be given to her industry, and our merchants and manufacturers from the immense field which would be opened to their enterprise, the Committee, on this occasion, will confine themselves to the benefits which must flow to the West-Indians themselves, from the adoption of this just and liberal policy. They confidently expect indeed, that, so soon as the West-Indian planter is led to himself for relief, his system will rapidly improve. "One obvious benefit which would immediately accrue to him would be, that he would be induced to withdraw his poor soil from Sugar cultivation, and to retain in it only those of superior fertility. Inferior soils would be employed in the growth of other articles for which they were adapted, and only the best in that of Sugar. The remunerating price of Sugar would thus be lowered. A forced cultivation must always be a hazardous and expensive process; and it can only be supported by a monopoly price both high and permanent.

"Again; the use of the plough has such obvious advantages, that to a cursory observer, it is wonderful that it has not been more generally adopted in West-Indian cultivation. If an English farmer were obliged to keep, during the whole year, all the hands that he required in harvest, he too might employ them with the spade and the hoe in turning up the soil, and might find less advantage from the plough. If the plough were brought into general use, and cattle were therefore more generally employed; the fertility of the soil, by means of a change of crops, of manuring and good management, would be gradually improved instead of being, as now, continually deteriorated.

"Various other suggestions present themselves. If, for example, the cultivation of provisions were made universally a first and paramount object; if the women were relieved from the constant and oppressive drudgery of field labour, and allowed to give an adequate share of attention to their domestic concerns, as might easily be done were the plough in general use; and if various other economical improvements which are obviously practicable were adopted; there can be no doubt that the state of things in the West Indies would rapidly and greatly improve. The population would increase, and their con-



must be resorted to, which have proved so signally successful in the case of Indigo. British capital and British intelligence must give the necessary direction and impulse to the industry of the Native Farmer. With that view, information on the subject has already been widely diffused: and the Committee have great satisfaction in perceiving that attention has of late been much turned to this subject, and to the means of attaining it. Still, if it should be left entirely to individual enterprize to excite the industry either of the Hindoos, or of the Free labourers in other tropical countries, the progress of things to this consummation would probably be slow. The Committee therefore will rejoice should the plans which are now on foot for accelerating it, by forming associations for promoting the growth and manufacture of Sugar by Free labour, be carried into effect. The Committee cannot but wish well to all such undertakings. Should they succeed, they must tend gradually, but most effectually, to put an end to the cultivation of Sugar by Slave labour; just as similar means, though much less powerfully and systematically developed, have put an end to the growth of Indigo by Slave labour, not only in the colonies of Great Britain, but in every other part of the world. And, when Sugar shall cease to be cultivated by Slaves, it may safely be assumed that the final extinction of Colonial Slavery is at hand. Indeed, long before that period shall arrive, it may be reasonably hoped that the planters of the

dition would gradually approach that of Free labourers. The property of the Planter would be no longer estimated by the number of his Slaves, who would sink in value; but by his land, which would proportionably rise in value. His income would eventually be derived from a land-rent paid by Black or White farmers managing their own concerns; and he would then be able to compete in the sale of his produce with any other country in the world." *Review of the Quarterly Review*, pp. 103, 104.

West Indies will have opened their eyes to their true interests, and will be convinced by what is passing before them, that in the present circumstances of the world, and the new state of our commercial relations, their relief from distress, the improvement of their property, and their advancement in wealth and prosperity, so far from being inconsistent with the progress of emancipation, may be expected to arise, and indeed can only arise, from a course of measures, tending to elevate the moral and social condition of their Slaves, and to convert them into a free peasantry, labouring for their own benefit, and enjoying in common with their masters the equal protection of law, and the blessings of civil freedom and religious light.

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*For the Christian Observer.*

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER,  
OPINIONS, AND WRITINGS OF THE  
LATE LORD BYRON.

(Continued from p. 87.)

IN our attempts to analyze the characters of individuals, whether dead or living, considerable care and caution are requisite. The human heart, in the full extent of its windings and intricacies is known to God only. Even, under that more limited survey which man is permitted to take of his moral nature, it is sometimes a labyrinth of perplexity, in which the most knowing and experienced are apt to be bewildered and lost. But, even where certainty cannot be secured, a high degree of probability is often attainable; and "probability," as Bishop Butler observes, "is the very guide of life."

The Westminster Reviewers tell us, that Lord Byron "rarely resisted the impulse of his feelings;" undoubtedly a just remark. I cannot, however, say so much for what fol-

lows; that "these impulses were generally of the most benevolent kind." Like all persons who unite strong passions with equally strong conceptions, and with a vivid imagination, whatever he felt at all he felt most sensibly and acutely. When minds of this cast are blessed with some proportionate counterpoise of moral and religious principle, such feelings, though they must partially influence the conduct, are still not permitted to govern it. But, unhappily, Lord Byron wanted this ballast to keep his vessel steady under the heavy and shifting gales of passion and temptation. He therefore followed the impulses of feeling and sentiment, without inquiring whither they were likely to conduct him. Often, however, his impulses appear to have been transient, in proportion to their intensity. They roared and blustered for their little hour, and then gave place to some new gust or current, blowing perhaps from a quite contrary direction.

But the human mind may be much under the influence of sudden impulses of sentiment and passion, and yet still own the general ascendancy of some one ruling or master propensity; as the various foreign effluvia which mingle under ordinary circumstances with the atmospheric air do not deprive it of that fundamental principle in its composition on which the support of life depends. Lord Byron, with all his subjection to impulses, had still his ruling passion, which developed its prevailing influence, in a greater or less degree, under all the changes and circumstances of his life. Perhaps it would be too much to say, in the words of a poet whom Lord Byron greatly admired, though he certainly did not copy him in manner, that

"The master passion, ruling in his breast,  
Like Aaron's serpent, swallowed up the  
rest;"

but, if it did not annihilate occasional impulses, it controlled them, and

maintained an habitual predominance in the poet's bosom. And what was that master passion? If I mistake not, it was an *exorbitant desire of intellectual and literary fame, with little or no regard to the moral feelings and characters of his admirers.* We shall find, I think, that this principle will best account for several of the most striking facts of his history, and features of his conduct.

It furnishes, for example, a clue to the display of his temper in the publication of English bards and Scotch Reviewers;" one of his earliest works, composed about the time of his coming of age. It is well known that the satirical poem here alluded to was occasioned by an article in the Edinburgh Review on the "Hours of Idleness, by a Minor," published two years earlier. Our great Northern Journal was, at that period, in the full blaze of its talents, and in the full career of its popularity; not less renowned for its wit upon matters of lighter interest, than for its power and acuteness on graver subjects,—always excepting the subject of religion, though the gravest, the greatest, and the most worthy of superior abilities. As these formidable writers were flourishing their critical scourge, which at that time had a stinging lash appended to it, over the troop of authors who surrounded them, they found a noble minor in the throng, who seemed to be pressing towards the temple of fame with more assurance than they thought became either his age or his abilities; and they could not refrain from giving him a stroke which he felt most severely. It was certainly calculated to make a youthful aspirant smart; and it happened to light upon a constitution which, perhaps, among the "*wrathful poetic tribe*," was one of the most irascible that ever existed. Lord Byron frankly confessed that he had never been so angry in his life, either before or afterwards; though probably he said this before he had read

Mr. Southey's protest twice over, and looked those unutterable things which Captain Medwin has attempted to describe. The result was, that he vented his rage in the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers;" a performance which, considering the age of the author evinced great knowledge of mankind, correctness of criticism, keenness of satire, and in many parts a much better tone of moral feeling than is visible in his later productions. Here, I conceive, the master passion of Lord Byron rose into very conspicuous exercise. The "Poems by a Minor," though doubtless indicating a youth of superior intellect and attainment, gave no adequate promise of the "Childe Harold," published about five years afterwards. Had then Lord Byron listened, upon this occasion, to the dictates of reason, candour, and conscience, instead of throwing the reins upon the neck of his wounded pride, would he not have contented himself with scrutinizing the matter of the review? Though he might have deemed it unfairly or even cruelly severe, would he not have waited to confute it by some subsequent performance that should have sealed his reputation as a poet, without betraying the bitterness of his resentment as a man? But angry feelings prevailed, and shewed that an attack upon his literary fame was the offence which he was least able to forgive. The same may have happened in the case of other youthful bards; but at present I have to do with Lord Byron only.

To the soreness of personal, if not intellectual, pride, must also be attributed the alteration of the couplet, in this poem, relating to Lord Carlisle. Lord Byron had, in his first manuscript, given this nobleman a larger dividend of praise as a poet than was ever bestowed upon him by the public. But, deeply wounded by some real or fancied neglect on the part of his noble relative, he suppressed the laudatory distich, and inserted a contemptuous

couplet in its place. The anecdote rests on the report of the late Mr. Dallas; and I see no reason for doubting its correctness. Now, in a mind not governed by the selfishness of pride and passion, reason, if not moral principle, would surely have interposed to prevent a deviation from consistency so gross and odious as this. It may not be without its parallel in the annals of literary delinquency; but it shewed a lamentable disregard to all sense of rectitude; and, though I am not partial to certain of Mr. Southey's images, I must say that it betrayed as much of the "cloven foot," of human degeneracy as could well be displayed in any single action.

The principle I have laid down, as a ruling passion in Lord Byron's character, will also account for those gratuitous, and most pernicious effusions of scepticism which teem in the *Childe Harold*. It was the elder Mr. Dallas, as Lord Byron himself acknowledged, who first discerned the numerous beauties of this poem; a poem which the author was disposed, or *professed* to be, to throw aside, and for which he was about to substitute a very inferior performance. In this recommendation Mr. Dallas may fairly be said to have laid the foundation of his friend's celebrity, while perhaps he contributed also to that *facilis descensus Averni*—that rapidly downward course of moral feeling in the noble author—which followed the unexampled success of this poem. In his recommendation, however, Mr. Dallas laboured, with the industry and zeal of a well-principled mind, to get rid of two most exceptionable stanzas, in which a cheerless gloom of scepticism, or rather the darkness of unbelief, is thrown around the awful subject of futurity. He attacked Lord Byron again and again on this point, but without success. The stanzas his lordship was obstinately bent on retaining. Do we not, here too, witness the overbearing predominance of a love of literary fame, uncombined with the smallest



tenderness for moral and religious feelings? The author could not but know that the objectionable stanzas were specimens of beautiful pathos, and amongst his finest poetry. He knew also (for Mr. Dallas told him so) that their insertion, however objectionable, would at first rather increase than diminish the popularity of the work. At the same time he must have felt, had he felt morally at all, that they could tend to no valuable purpose but his own literary aggrandizement, and that their unavoidable effect would be to grieve the good, to confirm the scorner in his impiety, and to unsettle any feeble foundations of faith in the young, the careless and the dissipated. But he evidently delighted in the *daring aspect* of the achievement. He was gratified with shewing the world that he was not to be terrified by the strictures of moral censors and indignant criticism. He seemed resolved to feel the pulse of the British public, on the subject of infidelity, to try what it could bear, and how far it would connive at his irreligion, from admiration of his genius. The result of the experiment was most unhappy. The poem succeeded beyond expectation; and Mr. Dallas, who had good means of ascertaining the truth, informs us, that this success raised the author's vanity to a degree of confidence and presumption which led to those still grosser outrages upon piety, virtue, and common decency, that are but too well known. It is but due to the character of the late Mr. Dallas to state, that he lived to repent deeply of having been so active an instrument in the publication of the *Childe Harold*; and that he expressed the uneasiness of his conscience, on this account, within a very short period of his death.

But perhaps some persons will say, though the staunch readers of the *Christian Observer* will hardly be of their number, "What was the mighty mischief of this case? Should we lament that one of the

finest poems in the English language has not been suppressed, on account of only two objectionable stanzas? How many beauties should we have lost, in losing the *Childe Harold*!" Sentiments like these proceed from a cause which has been already referred to; the gratification of fancy, and the relish of intellectual enjoyment prevailing over the sense of moral duty and heartfelt religion. But, alas! weighed against these highest interests of mankind, what are the attractions of poetry but a feather in the scale? The two justly reprobated stanzas are far from constituting the whole objection of the Christian and the moralist to this fine poem. But what if they were the whole? A subtle and searching poison may be mixed in such small proportions with the sweet or innocent ingredients of the cup, as hardly to be tasted by the victim, whom nevertheless it destroys.

The *Childe Harold*, the *Giaour*, the *Corsair*, and some other of the first poems of Lord Byron, might be termed decorous and moral, when compared with the mingled grossness, licentiousness, and impiety of his latter productions. Yet, in these disgusting performances, strange as it may seem, he appears to have been mainly influenced by the desire of literary fame. If this motive be not admitted, his conduct, I fear, can only be resolved into something far worse—the utter depravity of a deliberate design upon the peace and morals of well ordered society. I confess that, much as I abhor the tendency of some of his poems, I should be slow to charge him with an amount of guilt that would more than justify the very worst epithets which have been bestowed on him as a writer. But how, it may be asked, could he possibly hope to establish and enlarge his reputation by works so much at variance with sound principles and sober morals, as *Don Juan*, *Cain*, and the reply to *Southey's Vision of Judgment*? The answer is, that he thought not of

the more moral and respectable, still less of the truly religious, portion of the British public. What he wanted was *the extension of a name*; and this he was pretty sure of obtaining. Whether he gained it through good or through evil report, appears to have been with him, latterly, a matter of much indifference. In spite of English taste and English manners, he found that his works were read. Singularity and opposition did but advance the sale of them. Numbers of thoughtless persons eagerly ran after every thing which had his dishonoured name appended to it, and openly countenanced writings which their better feelings could not but condemn; whilst many who were entire Atheists in practice, and semi-Atheists in theory, were not displeased to find their views forwarded and patronised by so great a genius.—The lord chancellor might refuse his injunction; and the attorney-general might prosecute; but the indirect censure of the one only operated to widen the circulation of the noxious work; and the more decisive proceedings of the other were not sufficient for suppressing it. In short, Lord Byron found that he was triumphing at once over public opinion, law, and equity; and he seems to have enjoyed his triumph with the spirit of one who was willing to surrender all claim to moral respectability if he could but extend his fame as a poet, and spread around terror or amazement by the boldness and eccentricities of his muse.

Perhaps, under these circumstances, even his determination to reside abroad was more connected with the desire and maintenance of literary elevation, than may, at first view, be imagined. In his self-imposed exile from his native country, there was an air of proud independence and singularity, which, while it rendered him less loved than feared, made him, at the same time, more the subject of general conversation and remark. When Lord Byron

had once resolved upon disregarding the advice of friends, the strictures of critics, and the voice of public opinion, as to the moral tendency of his writings, prudence clearly dictated that he ought not to reside in England. Bad as we are, in comparison of what we ought to be, there is, after all, perhaps, a higher strain and standard of good feeling in this country than in any other on the face of the earth; and the liberty we enjoy affords a wider and more effectual scope for the expression of that feeling here than elsewhere. Much that will pass unnoticed or uncensured in France and Italy, is branded here with just reprobation. Even *we*, alas! may be tempted to admire and patronise genius, when abused to very unworthy purposes; but we are not easily brought to confound vice with virtue, in our estimates of the characters of individuals. Lord Byron knew this, and wisely kept aloof. Unlike the objects of the material world, he shewed greatest at a distance. Greater nearness and familiarity might have lessened our admiration, and by consequence his literary eminence. In all this, I am far from meaning to deny that other motives, of a private and domestic nature, which it is not my design here to touch upon, might operate with great force, in keeping him away from his country. Still the ruling passion was, I think, strongly discernible in this circumstance of his life.

The elder Mr. Dallas, who, in spite of the Westminster Reviewers, was always in intention, and often in reality, the best friend of the noble bard, informs us that he had more than once urged him to occupy and adorn his proper station, as a member of the hereditary branch of the legislature. He made, I think, only one or two essays; and those, though unfavourable as to manner, were highly calculated, in point of matter, to command attention.—What a fine spectacle would it have

been to have seen Lord Byron, with his great powers of intellect and influence, taking his stand in the British senate, as the firm yet temperate supporter of his country's rights and liberties,—as the consistent patron of a liberal and enlightened policy—and as the active promoter of national improvement, in every wise, pious, and laudable undertaking! Whether this addition of the civic crown might not have shaded, in some degree, his poetic laurel, I cannot presume to say. But, if he had been somewhat less celebrated as a poet, he would have had infinitely more to recommend him as a man; and, if he had composed comparatively but little, yet that little would have handed down his name to posterity with far more enviable honours than it now inherits.

False conceptions of dignity and glory were the rock upon which Lord Byron split, as thousands have perished in the same way before him. Dignity and glory he made to consist, partly perhaps in personal vigour and accomplishments, but chiefly in *intellectual power*. This, whether with or without the recommendation of moral and religious principle, seems to have been equally the object of his boast and admiration. He censured and almost despised Napoleon Bonaparte, for condescending to survive the effects of his restless and insatiable ambition. "He ought to have gone off the stage like a hero," was the poet's observation concerning him. He remarked, that Dr. Johnson "died like a coward," because he was afraid of departing in an unprepared state; and that Hume "went off like a brave man," because he danced and sported upon the edge of the tomb, and dared to be jocular—to adopt the words of our great moralist—"upon one of the few things that make wise men serious."—Through the same fatal prejudice, he denied that Voltaire's end was clouded with those terrors which the Abbé Barruel has so fearfully descri-

bed. We are told, that, like Alfieri, Lord Byron was "*fier, indomptable, melancholique*;" that he was "too proud to justify himself, when right; or, if accused, to own himself wrong." Such are the notions of courage and dignity which the unbeliever boldly professes, and which the nominal Christian, if he be less forward to own them, still too much encourages and entertains. I need not say how totally they are at variance with the word of God. Indeed, they are at variance with the simplest dictates of reason and common understanding. There is a line of Racine's "*Athalie*," which ought to be prominently affixed in the study of every bold literary sceptic:

"Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte."

This is a better, because a more religious, description of true courage than the famous passage in Shakspeare, to a like effect:

"I dare do all that may become a man:  
Who dares do more is none."

No mind, under the influence of Christian feeling, would think, for a moment, of passing judgment on Lord Byron's state, during the last hours of his mortal existence. Still, however, we may be justified in asking, with deep concern, whether there be not some reason to apprehend that his ruling passion was "*strong in death*." As the account given by his servant cannot well be disproved, and remains uncontradicted, I suppose we may consider it substantially correct. He represents his master as having said, during his fatal illness, "I am not afraid of death; I am more fit to die than many people imagine." Now, if this speech proceeded from a mere preparation of nerve and animal spirits, in what light can it be viewed but as a last effort of that false shame, and those mistaken ideas of dignity, by which his general character was distinguished? What does it prove, but that, like the dying gladiator, he wished to fall gracefully? If, on the other hand,



it was meant to express, in any degree, a preparation of soul for his departure—the only preparation worth speaking of—then indeed we can but hope that he had some better ground of confidence than a retrospect of his life and writings was calculated to inspire.

It is a question often agitated, and of considerable importance, under what limitations, or whether under any, the desire of human applause and admiration can be a legitimate principle of action, according to the morality of the Gospel. Without however attempting, in the present paper, to determine this question in the abstract, it is very certain that the desire of literary reputation—for to that I now confine myself—becomes clearly unlawful, corrupt, and mischievous, when it prevails uncombined with Christian piety and principle. In this case, it addresses itself solely, either to the taste and opinions of the great mass of mankind, or to those of some particular assembly of critics who may be termed dispensers of the literary honours of their own day. Now, I hardly need say, that the opinions of such critics are not always sound and scriptural. They are, on the contrary, too often at variance with the dictates of true religion, and, even without being positively immoral or profane, may give a dangerous encouragement to what is erroneous in principle and incorrect in practice. In a word, their standard of morals too often falls short of the standard of the Gospel. And, with regard to the good opinion of the public at large, it is certain that no writer can surrender himself to the pursuit of this object, without at the same time conceding what a true Christian must ever hold most dear and most valuable. This has been strikingly exemplified in the authors of dramatic compositions, who professedly adapt themselves to the taste of the multitude, and of whom the least exceptionable, are, for the most part, miserably

defective, when tried by the test of Scripture.

The desire of literary reputation, even if it were proved not to be abstractedly sinful, must at all events be an unlawful motive, when it is not kept in absolute subjection to the principles of Christianity. Not only must those principles generally prompt and influence all our actions; but they should also control and govern them. They should operate so as effectually to restrain us from any irregularities and excesses which would be inconsistent with the character of a true disciple of Christ. Addison somewhere alludes to offences of this nature, as the peculiar temptations of men of wit and genius; and, while he enforces the duty of overcoming such temptations, he seems to allow some merit to the sacrifice. But Addison's views of Christian doctrine and practice were, it is to be feared, not sufficiently correct and elevated. The true Christian will hardly deem the sacrifice of a loose or profane jest to be any extraordinary evidence of virtue; though he will regard the practice of such liberties as a sure proof of the want of a steady principle of religion.

A desire of literary reputation is a principle which requires to be suspected and watched over with more than ordinary care and caution. There is no instance in which the precept of the wise man is more necessary to be placed constantly before our view,—*keep thy heart with all diligence*; and there is no instance in which the danger of overstepping the limit of allowable indulgence is greater or more apparent. We are vain creatures at the best; and whatever may tend to nourish our vanity, should be avoided and repressed. In opposing the temptations of undue self-complacency and self-applause, the man of wit, genius, or ability, has to encounter the natural frailty of his own heart, fostered by the warm praises of friends, the approbation of critics, and the flatteries of the

multitude. How is he to avoid becoming oppressed, and as it were intoxicated, with the fumes of the incense which surrounds him? Only by constant vigilance, and by earnest prayer for the assistance of that Divine grace which alone can preserve him from the *pride that goeth before destruction*.

(To be continued.)

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

IN taking up Boswell's Life of Johnson, I am struck with a passage in the additional part at the beginning (second edition,) in which the author has volunteered, in opposition to the *dictum* of his great master, his "*magnus Apollo*," on other occasions, his own private opinion, on a subject which at that time was one of eager and general discussion,—the abolition of the slave-trade. It may seem somewhat unkind and ungenerous to bring forward a writer's opinion, after a lapse of years, during which so complete a revolution in sentiment has taken place among his countrymen with regard to this great question. But there is so amusing an ambitiousness in the passage, such an unfortunate assumption of impregnable superiority, such a provoking "longing after immortality," that I am persuaded the author, so far from feeling himself aggrieved, would have rejoiced in the prospect, could he have foreseen that it had a chance of being embalmed in your pages. Should you be inclined to confer this honour upon it, it may serve for a specimen of the short-sightedness of man, and the unseemliness of overweening confidence in reference to questions which admit of doubt, and on which posterity is to decide. How little could Mr. Boswell imagine, that the abolition which he treats as a fanciful and wild, an inhuman and unchristian, chimera, would, at no great distance of time, not only attain the repose and dignity of a settled historical

fact, but even cease to be discussed as a speculative question, as a point of history, affording sufficient play for argumentative reasoning on both sides—*ut declamatio fiat!* How little could he imagine—happily for his sensitive mind he was saved from the contemplation of so widely spread a calamity—that not only would the sounds of opposition die away in England, but the general voice of Europe, so far as the *principle* is concerned, would join in confirming our decision, and pronouncing the condemnation of their own *practice*. Nay, the day may arrive, when they will go further than this, when they will be ashamed of their inconsistency, and by the universal abandonment of this philanthropic traffic, "the gates of mercy," in spite of Mr. Boswell's prophetic deprecation, will be finally "shut" on the unpitied and deserted African!

The passage is as follows:—

"I record Dr. Johnson's argument fairly upon this particular case; where, perhaps, he was in the right. But I beg leave to enter my most solemn protest against his general doctrine with respect to the slave trade. For I will resolutely say, that his unfavourable notion of it was owing to prejudice, and imperfect or false information. The wild and dangerous attempt which has for some time been persisted in, to obtain an Act of our Legislature to abolish so very important and necessary a branch of commercial interest, must have been crushed at once, had not the insignificance of the zealots who vainly took the lead in it made the vast body of planters, merchants, and others, whose immense properties are involved in that trade, reasonably enough suppose that there could be no danger. The encouragement which the attempt has received excites my wonder and indignation; and though some men of superior abilities have supported it, whether from a love of temporary popularity when prosperous, or a love of

general mischief when desperate, my opinion is unshaken. To abolish a *status* which in all ages God has sanctioned, and man has continued, would not only be robbery to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects, but it would be extreme cruelty to the African savages; a portion of whom it saves from massacre, or introduces into a much happier state of life; especially now when their passage to the West Indies, and their treatment there, is humanely regulated. To abolish that trade would be,

‘To shut the gates of mercy on mankind.’”

But it is not merely as a *curiosity*, that I think this passage worthy of a few moments’ attention in the present day. A great question yet remains to be decided, on which hang the destinies of nearly a million of our fellow-creatures: shall the descendents of the victims of a trade, which has been determined to be iniquitous and proscribed as piratical, be suffered to pine under its inherited operation? Can we be said to have *abolished* it, when to these poor creatures its terrible force is the same, reaching through the course of time, as if they had been but yesterday torn under its gripe, from their native land and their natural liberty? The unbiassed, untutored answer of reason to this collateral question is as plain and as short as it was to the original one, concerning the trade. Abolition was the theorem, emancipation is only the corollary: if the former has been proved, the latter follows of course. I am not now speaking of the *time* and the *mode*, but of the *duty* and *necessity*, of emancipation, as a national measure. If the public mind be once strongly impressed with the obligation, the means of accomplishing the object will not be wanting. Now against this assertion of the duty, do we not find a host of enemies arrayed? Are they not the same men, heirs at least of the same interests and prejudices, with those who fought the battle against the

abolition? Do we not see the same weapons in their hands, and the same manner of wielding them—the same undoubting confidence in their demeanour—the same flash of argument—the same shower of opprobrious epithets on the wise and good of the earth—the same impatience of an appeal to the common feelings of humanity—the same deafness to the solemn and repeated protest of Religion—the same unblushing attempt to wrest the forbearance of God into a sanction, to convert the “times of ignorance, at which he winked,” into a precedent for all times,—to confound the meaning of words, to put “*happiness*” for slavery, and “*robbery*” for reparation—to mislead the mind, to paralyze the will, and to harden the heart—which we see so conspicuously displayed by Mr. Boswell in the passage before us? It may serve, therefore, as an encouragement to some to go steadily and fearlessly on towards the attainment of their great object, when they perceive how vain were all these means to oppose the silent march of truth, and the *fiat* of Divine Providence; and to others who have begun to waver, it may be instrumental in dispelling the delusion, which boldness in asseveration, or ingenuity in making “the worse appear the better reason,” may for a moment have succeeded in raising.

B. C.

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*To the Editor of the Christian Observer.*

THE account of the execution of Thomas Coombs, for the murder at Beckenham, as published in the London papers, having been copied by your correspondent Monitor, for the purpose of grounding on it a remonstrance on the impropriety of indiscriminately administering the holy communion to condemned criminals, I think it right, in justice to my own feelings and character, to send you the true statement as given in the Maidstone Gazette, of December 21, 1824,



and shall be obliged by your inserting it in your next Number. From this counter statement, your readers, and Monitor among them, will see that implicit dependence ought not invariably to be placed on the rash assertions of public journalists, frequently founded on flying reports, and sometimes perhaps on their own bare conjectures. It will be seen, that Coombs was *not* conducted into the chapel on the morning of his execution, and that, for reasons about to be specified, the holy communion was *not* administered to him. Up to the last moment, I thought it my duty to pay the unhappy man the most unremitted attentions; with a sincere wish that it might please God to bless my humble endeavours for his spiritual good, and that he might be moved to make a penitent confession of his guilt; but finding him, after all my efforts obstinately determined to leave the world in circumstances very unfit for a dying man, I felt that I could not, conscientiously and safely comply with his wish; and on subsequent reflection, though the propriety of my refusal has been variously spoken of among some of the clergy and others in the neighbourhood, I am still of opinion that I evinced no want of candour or charity in withholding the solemn ordinance from such a man, who not only could not "give any reason of the hope that was in him," and rejected the only probable means of being enabled to learn it, but who almost invariably received my instructions with sullen indifference, and persisted in the most shocking falsehoods to the last.

Our Church, in the order for the Visitation of the Sick, expressly *recommends*, nay *enjoins*, that "the person be moved to make a special confession of his sins if he feel his conscience troubled, with any weighty matter;" and though a clergyman ought not curiously to pry into all the circumstances of a man's

life, he will not, if he really feel the weight and responsibility of his sacred office, be satisfied with a superficial confession, a confession in the gross, which has no reference to particular sins; and still less, if the object of his attentions be a hardened criminal, who is convicted of murder, and has spent all his days in the most shameful and flagrant wickedness, and never cherished one serious thought of his Maker, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, till sentence of death has been actually passed upon him.

Monitor will doubtless be glad to find that the importance of his observations had been in a measure anticipated. It may be further satisfactory to add, that the sacrament was also refused to J. T. Ingram, another hardened criminal, who suffered ten days after Coombs; so that this holy ordinance, though *too frequently* I fear, is not *always* administered indiscriminately to prisoners left for execution, without very great respect to their suitable preparation for it. I should have submitted both these cases to the archbishop, for his consideration, but that his Grace's reply could not have arrived at Maidstone in time.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. WINTER,  
Chaplain of the County Prisons,  
Maidstone,

*"Execution of T. Coombs.*

"Yesterday morning Thomas Coombs, convicted of the murder of T. Morgan, was executed on Penden heath. After his condemnation the wretched man conducted himself with outward decency; but, we are sorry to say, he died without an explicit acknowledgment of his guilt. The Rev. John Winter, chaplain of the goal, was unremitting in his endeavour to prepare the culprit for the awful change he was so soon to undergo, and the solicitude of the Rev. gentleman was met by the prisoner with respectful atten-

tion;\* but it failed in eliciting from him that confession which is the only reparation that can be made to his fellow-men, by a criminal about to appear before an Almighty Judge, to answer for the commission of the horrible crime of murder. But though the hapless creature faintly denied his guilt, yet he did so in a manner that shewed his words and his conscience were at variance. He wished not to be pressed on the subject, and though he said the witnesses were all combined against him, he did not attempt to contradict the truth of a single fact adduced. On Sunday night, he slept but little, and yesterday morning he wished the holy sacrament to be administered to him. Previous to complying with his wish, the chaplain again entreated him to make the only reparation in his power by a confession of his guilt, of which no man who heard his trial could entertain a doubt. Coombs appeared in some measure subdued; but he declined either to acknowledge or deny the crime for which he was to die, though he confessed that he had led a dissolute and wicked life. Under these circumstances, the Rev. gentleman very properly did not administer the sacrament to the culprit, who evinc-

\* Coombs was outwardly civil, but far from shewing "respectful attention" to me.

ed no anxiety on the subject. A few minutes before 11 o'clock, the undersheriff and chaplain again exhorted Coombs to make a positive declaration on the subject of his guilt; but he still refused, declaring that to press him further would drive him mad. The workings of his mind at the moment operated so forcibly upon him, that he begged to be permitted to sit down, or he should sink on the ground. He was immediately seated; and it was found necessary to give him some wine, to preserve him from fainting. At 11 o'clock, the melancholy procession set out from the prison, in the midst of a tremendous shower of rain. On arriving at the scaffold, the chaplain ascended the waggon, and prayed with the culprit, who joined him without any appearance of earnestness. The executioner then proceeded to perform his dreadful office. When placed under the beam, Coombs remained unchanged: he spoke not, but his lips occasionally moved, as if he was inwardly praying. The executioner several times asked him if he had any thing to say to the spectators of the melancholy scene; but he replied that he had not, and he met his fate with a sullen composure, or we may say a savage indifference, that was any thing but the demeanour of an innocent man," &c. &c.

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### Review of New Publications.

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*A Tribute of Parental Affection; containing some Account of the Character and Death of Hannah Jerram (fourth Edition); with an Appendix, giving a short Account of the last Illness, and Death of her elder Brother.* By their father, CHARLES JERRAM, Vicar of Chobham Surrey. London. 6s. 1824.

THE present publication, in having reached a fifth edition, seems to  
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demand of us some notice both from its own excellence, and in deference to the voice of public opinion so strongly given in its favour. To those readers who admit or require the relish of *story* to be infused into works of religious instruction as a legitimate means of superior attraction, we recommend it on a double account: first, because they have here a story of a very interesting and affecting nature to arrest their attention; and, whether or not they

will regard that as giving additional value, a story circumstantially and literally true; and next, because they will find in the course of its pages some highly useful observations on a taste for the perusal of such tales as are *not* true,—stories founded altogether on fiction, or, what are often equally false, tales pretending to be founded in fact. We are strongly inclined to introduce the amiable and lamented Hannah Jerram to our readers, by an abstract of Mr. Jerram's observations on this very subject; and we may perhaps be allowed the liberty of prefacing these by a single introductory remark of our own. The remark, then, we have to make on this confessedly hackneyed subject is, that, however paradoxical it may seem, the circumstance of a story, even a religious story, being *true*, in the proper sense of truth, is no peculiar recommendation to it in the eyes of ordinary religious story readers. As the great drawback to mere didactic exhortation is this, that there is something told us to be actually and merely *done*; so we believe a corresponding drawback to the actual verities of religious biography arises from this circumstance, that there is something to be actually and faithfully *imitated*.—Now mere religious story-telling is disencumbered from both these weighty drawbacks. There may perhaps be something to be *felt*, to be admired, to be even wept over, and dreamt over, but nothing to be *done*; and for this plain reason, that the thing never *was* done; and nothing to be *imitated*, for a reason equally plain, that we may, or may not, at our own option, assume the description to be *inimitable*. The religious novelist, whether writer or reader, has indeed surprising advantages. The selection of incident is left entirely to the judgment of the one, as acting upon the feelings of the other. The writer has to put the reader into the newest possible and most imaginative, world; to enrapture him like “the poet's eye,

rolling from earth to heaven, from heaven to earth;” to make him forget, we had almost said, his own condition and proper self, and to make him appear, to his own view, the very hero, tragic or epic, which is described in the piece. Hence, in the most compendious possible way, the man is made a Christian, a Christian parent or child, master or servant, landlord or peasant, a Christian soldier, or pastor, or merchant, or missionary, according to the character assumed in the tale; without a single effort, outward or within, in heart or hand, to become what he imagines himself for the time to be. The delightful heroes and heroines, “without fear or reproach,” which were conjured up in the moral world, in the Grandisons or the Pamelas of past ages, are not in truth converted to Christianity by the same exquisite machinery adapted to religion. Nor with regard to the reader, any more than the hero or heroine, is this desirable effect very certain: if it were, how delightful would it be to reflect upon the great increase of eminent Christian characters among the admirers of these productions! For, in imagination at least, many a sickly sentimentalist becomes self-invested with the sturdy virtues of a veteran missionary; whilst perhaps the robust and Herculean contemplatist may be most meritoriously dreaming over the peaceful duties of a cottage maid. Such portraits as that one traced in the affecting pages of Mr. Jerram, from real life, possess none of these recommendations.—The writer, for the most part, here delineates not for the imagination but the conscience of the reader: and his business is not to make the most agreeable composition, but the most faithful portrait; a portrait so faithful as to apply itself to the circumstances and feelings of fellow-probationers in this mortal state. And hence, to the mere imaginative reader a faithful biographical memoir is not so at-



tractive as a highly wrought fiction. This or that circumstance might have been modified, or might have been omitted; the exhibition might have been a little differently dressed; and the real state of the case needed not have been fully exposed. The virtues above humanity, the imperfections but too consistent with it, form not the *beau idéal* of imagined perfection; or something in the Christian experience happens to be inconsistent, according to our views, with the Christian character that is portrayed. In short, what we are, what we may be, what we ought to be, and what we must stand prepared to do, to suffer, to experience in the Christian life, are lessons of too serious import to be learnt in the exact position of novel readers; and indeed to such persons even an interesting biographical detail will appear, perhaps, scarcely relieved from the wholesome dryness of mere instruction.

This, however, which is the very charm of Scripture itself—namely, that it portrays things and characters as they really are—is that which we consider the recommendation of the little work before us. And now that we may sanction our own observations, which we fear by some may be considered as rather of an invidious and carping nature, against the very innocent race of story readers, we shall proceed, as we promised, to give a very important passage from Mr. Jerram, on the same subject. It occurs in his mention of the *classical* pursuits of his beloved and regretted Hannah; and comprises in its extent a general review of the various classes of fictitious tales, beginning with those of the ancient poets, proceeding to those of the moderns, dismissing at once those wretched tales, whether in verse or prose, which are written in professed opposition or professed indifference to moral instruction; and tracing the line through every higher department of moral intention till we arrive at that very point of direct religious novel with which

it has been our object to confront the more chaste and severe muse of faithful and legitimate biography. Having justly contrasted in their respective effects in the nursery, the tales founded on mere general morality with those in which “every principle is placed and retained in its proper situation, Christ being made the centre, and attracting, enlightening, beautifying, animating, and fructifying every part,” Mr. Jerram proceeds as follows, in reference to this last and least exceptionable of all modes of fiction.

“This system of education, I am happy to observe, has been advocated and supported by numbers of individuals of both sexes and of the first order of talents: and it affords me a sincere pleasure to have an opportunity of offering my tribute of respect to those numerous females who have brought their excellent abilities to bear on the best interests of the rising generation. It is impossible to mention the names of More, and Trimmer, and Sherwood, and Taylor, and several others, without associating with them a wide diffusion of Christian principles; a large increase of domestic happiness; and much of that active zeal which has been recently displayed, and especially by females, in support of the great institutions which are spreading throughout the world the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour. They have smoothed the rugged course of education by their appropriate and lucid elementary books. They have furnished us with the best materials, embellished with all the ornaments and attractions which the subject will admit, for storing the memory and forming the character of our youth: and they have illustrated their precepts by such a variety of interesting examples, that they can scarcely fail to make an indelible impression, wherever they are read. It is not easy to conceive any thing more sound in doctrine, more pure in morals, more rich in variety, more perfect in execution, or more beautiful and elegant in form, than the library with which their united efforts have supplied the younger branches of our families: and I am persuaded that at this moment thousands of parents and children are reaping an abundant harvest from their labours.

“After bestowing this justly merited praise, it may appear somewhat ungracious to say any thing which may seem to detract from the value of their performances; and yet I have my doubts whether some inconvenience may not arise, both from the continually increasing number of these publications, and the style and nature of their composition. Scarcely

a month passes, without some addition being made to the already abundant stock; and it is easy to perceive that invention is somewhat tortured to find any thing in the shape of novelty. The result is what might be naturally expected. Many of the recent performances are considerably inferior to those which first appeared: the reader feels a diminished interest in what is put into his hands; and there is some danger of the most valuable of these publications thus falling into discredit.

"But it is from the nature and style of these compositions that I anticipate the principal mischief. For the sake of illustrating principles, and giving the weight of facts to lessons on virtue and vice, imaginary characters are introduced with great effect; and no doubt make a more lasting impression on the mind and memory than abstract rules and dry lectures upon morals. But there is some danger even in this. Imaginary characters seldom bear an exact resemblance to real life. They are generally highly wrought, and wound up to a pitch of excellence or depravity which have rarely any counterpart in fact. Hence, real occurrences make a feebler impression than they would have done, from their falling short of what we had previously read in books: ordinary virtue passes as of little worth; and common suffering produces scarcely any sympathy. The feelings, having been frequently and powerfully excited, require a continually increasing stimulus to keep up their tone; and from the difficulty of obtaining this, the mind at length sinks into listless apathy, from which the customary events of life are incapable of arousing it. A habit also is acquired of overstating facts in order to excite interest. Perceiving that what appeared important to ourselves excites but little attention in others, we are tempted to set things out with a false colouring, and give them an appearance, with which the facts themselves have scarcely any correspondence. Every person, who pays a scrupulous regard to truth, has often been exceedingly distressed at hearing statements which he is sure are any thing but correct; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that this inattention to strict veracity may be owing, at least in part, to the circumstance on which I am animadverting.

"There is also so close an affinity between works of this nature, and the common class of novels, that there is some danger of gliding imperceptibly from one to the other: and thus acquiring a taste for those pernicious publications which have poisoned the minds, and corrupted the hearts, of so many of our youth.

"It will not have escaped the notice of many of my readers that, among many professing Christians, a sort of sentimentalism has usurped the place of experimental religion. The sober views and feeling, which the facts of our case, and

the nature of the Gospel, might be supposed to occasion, are superseded by sensations of a more exquisite and inexplicable nature, and by undefined and romantic notions of imaginary excellence and enjoyments. May not this evil also have some connexion with the writings which we are now considering?" pp. 51—56.

We shall dismiss this subject with so far qualifying both our own and Mr. Jerram's observations, as to say, that no imputation can be intended on the legitimate exercise of one of the most valuable and most operative faculties with which the Almighty Creator has graced our nature. And it is impossible not to concede the greatest weight to the example set by the first of all teachers, in his own powerful appeals to the imagination, through the medium of his divine parables. We only add, in reference to this great example of perfect instruction, that as the Parables of our Lord establish the lawfulness of a fictitious assumption of facts, for the purpose of illustrating moral truth, so they assign its best possible limit; they place the imagination in direct contact with plain palpable truth, and borrow their highest interest from the doctrine they illustrate.

We shall now pass to a brief notice of this interesting little memoir of real life, which, with no fictitious appeal whatever to the imagination, will, we are fully assured, speak loudly to the heart and to the conscience; and will combine, for the lover of real instruction, all that is interesting in family or personal detail, with all that is edifying in solemn practical appeal.

The subject of the memoir, Hannah Jerram, seems to have been one of those early and rare productions of a superior nature which are seldom found to join a long duration with intenseness of excellence, and, having been shewn to the world for the instruction of survivors, are removed from its contaminating influence for their own higher blessedness; and perhaps for the real, though mysterious, benefit of those also who might have leaned

too fondly on their presence amongst them. She was the daughter, the only and beloved daughter, of Mr. and Mrs. Jerram; the name and qualifications of her father as Vicar of Chobham, Surrey, and now Minister of St. John's, Bedford Row, being too well known to need any further designation. Her short earthly career was comprehended within the limits of April 4, 1800, the day of her birth, and May 9, 1823, the day of her death. But, in point of many useful and invaluable attainments, of much happiness enjoyed and diffused, and of large attainments of piety made and perhaps imparted, it was a long life. Too short indeed to the natural feelings of the bereaved parent: the recollection of it, as expressed in the early pages of his memoir, seems to have reproduced what we read of the ancient parental grief in recording its losses,

"Ter patriæ cecidère manus;"

yet, for relief of his own mind, for a memorial to the family bereaved, and for profit to mourners under similar afflictions, he proceeds. The first anecdote he records, in proof of the early interest which his daughter had engaged in his parental care, is as follows:—

"The only time, as far as I recollect, when I had occasion to use any thing like severity, was when she was in her second year; and I record the circumstance of it, as exemplifying my views of an important preliminary step in the training of children. We had a family party. Her grandfather and grandmother, her uncles and aunt, were dining with us; and our little Hannah was permitted to be seated at the table. On something being presented to her by one of her relatives, she was desired to say 'Thank you,'—a sentence which she had but recently learned to pronounce; but upon this occasion she was too eager to enjoy the kindness, to acknowledge her obligation to the hand from which she received it. I repeated the injunction, but without the desired effect. The affair then assumed another aspect, and an important principle was in agitation. Excuses were offered by her fond relatives, and the tears of the child appealed to my feelings; but I considered that a compromise in this case involved future consequences, and that the point between us must sooner or later be decided. I knew that the victory of the

child would lead to fresh attempts upon her yielding parents; and thus I should hereafter, with a much greater expense of feeling, and to a greater disadvantage, have to renew the contest. I therefore took the child into another room, and desired her to say 'Thank you,' which she did immediately. I supposed from this that the conquest was complete; but to my surprise, on returning to the dining-room, she had lost the power of uttering this short sentence. I had again to retire with her, and administer a slight correction for the disobedience; and again, when alone with me, she repeated the difficult words; but being a second time placed at the table, the task became insuperable, and she said, 'I can't say so.' Her relatives too, whose feelings overcame, on this occasion, their good sense, joined in thinking the child could not repeat the words; and some of them united their tears with the child's in urging me to proceed no further. The duty now became difficult. The yearnings of my own heart, the entreaties of those around me, and the sobs of the sweet child, were all on one side; and only a sense of duty on the other. I stifled, however, my feelings, and again retired. I had no doubt of the ability of the child to pronounce the words, because she had done so every time of my withdrawing with her, and I was determined to go through with my task. After four or five attempts, I at length succeeded; and, with a throbbing heart and flowing tears, the little creature sobbed out, 'Tank---you.' Every thing now was properly settled. The victory was on the side of the parent, who knew how to make a suitable use of it, instead of the daughter, who would have abused it; the tears were soon dried up; our friends were satisfied that all was right; and the dear child never made another attempt with papa for the mastery." pp. 14—17.

Mr. Jerram dwells on this little incident, and proceeds to some further observations, with some minuteness, and even exultation at remaining master of the field on so important an occasion; but as reviewers are not parents *ex officio*, we shall leave to those who are so to fix their own limits as to the imitable or inimitable nature of this parental act of authority.

The reminiscence of those amiable and endearing qualities which marked the mind of his daughter in her adolescent state, naturally calls forth the fullest and strongest expressions from the father. He knows at once the source of all true excellence in man and woman kind,



when he sums up all that was moral in her disposition in those few expressive words: "It is difficult to conceive a character more DIVESTED than she was of SELFISHNESS." A proof of this immediately follows, in an affecting anecdote which is connected with the mention of her uniform desire of making others happy, under whatever languor of spirit, or even acute pain of body, she might have been herself suffering.

"About two years ago she was on a visit to some of her most beloved friends at Southampton. The disease, which probably terminated her life, had already commenced its attack. Her friends could not help seeing at times, by her countenance, that she was far from being in the health they could wish; and they were extremely anxious on this account; but they were not aware of the extent of her malady. She afterwards told her mother, that she frequently retired into her room, as if for the purpose of dressing, writing letters, or other indifferent affairs, but with the real intention of rolling on the carpet (for, if she had done so on the bed, it would have probably led to inquiries about her health) to obtain a little ease of her acute pain: and when she appeared again in the parlour, she threw herself on the sofa, for the apparent purpose of playing with a favourite little girl upon it, but with the real object of obtaining, if possible, some mitigation of suffering." pp. 25, 26.

Her powers of intellect, at least of intellectual acquisition, which seem to have been accompanied by those of very lively communication, are exhibited by our author in a statement of her talents and acquisitions. the legitimate deduction to be drawn from the history of her studies by the conductors of youth, is the necessity for inculcating a wise and enlightened moderation on the youthful mind, whether of male or female: and the importance of taking all imaginable care not to sacrifice the very power of usefulness itself to an undue pursuit of the means for acquiring it. The "times," both of old and young, are in that "hand" which does always what is wisest and best. And this consideration, truly a consideration which, we doubt not, has long assured the bereaved parents of the "needfulness"

of their loss at the very moment it happened, is sufficient to withhold from us the observation, that the amiable Hannah Jerram might now have been diffusing cheerfulness around the family circle, or even instruction around her little pupil table, had she been induced to make her bodily health and her actual powers the strict limit of her exertions; or *could* her parents have applied to their eldest child that experience in management which is for the most part the product only of repeated experiments subsequently made on other children.

The placing of his daughter at the boarding-school of (the present) Mrs. Bowden, in Kensington, leads Mr. Jerram to some valuable observations as the result of his own mature experience in the proper management of youth under a course of scholastic education. We must refer those whom they may more especially concern to his work; passing on ourselves to the point of Miss Jerram's first clear manifestation of a religious character.

"It was to the pious and affectionate, but firm and prudent, management of her excellent governess, that I attribute, under God, much of the character for which she was afterwards distinguished. Early impressions of the best nature had undoubtedly been previously made, and the good seed had taken some root; but as yet nothing decisive of character had taken place. The mind was flexible; evil tendencies were strong; and pious habits were yet unformed. Much depended on the individual to whom she was now to look, not only for instruction but example, whether her previous impressions should be deepened and become permanent, or whether they should be entirely effaced; whether the seed should produce fruit, or be choaked with weeds; and happy was it, both for our beloved daughter and ourselves, that we had not mistaken the character to whom we had intrusted her education. The instructions of her early infancy were ably seconded; and an example as amiable as it was correct, and as prudent as it was Christian, was constantly before her. The result was such as might be anticipated: the suitable means had been employed, in hope of God's blessing upon them, and that blessing was abundantly bestowed. Our dear daughter was at length restored to the bosom of her family, to our mutual joy, not only with a mind well stored with

the most useful and ornamental elementary knowledge, which was a matter of great importance; but, what was paramount to every thing else, with a heart duly affected towards God and religious truth; prepared to advance to higher attainments in the divine life, and ready to take an active part in promoting whatever might bring glory to God, or good to man." pp. 69—71.

Mr. Jerram gives proof of a candour and moderation which we always find most congenial to minds of a settled piety, and habitual separation from the dust and tumult of earthly parties and adhesions, in his historical description of a pious clergyman, to whom, under God, he avows his obligation for his first distinct religious impressions. We shall not go much further into the subject, than to give the following explanation by Mr. Jerram, of certain imprudences alleged against the gentleman in question; and his remarks on the consequences with which these imprudences were attended. After describing fully a change of religious views in this gentleman, Mr. Jerram proceeds:—

"At length he found himself, as it were, in a new world; and the Apostle's observation was exemplified in him, 'If any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature: old things are passed away, and all things are become new.' This change of sentiment was accompanied with an ardour of feeling, in some degree corresponding with the magnitude and importance of the truths, he had recently been taught; and, under the strong influence of this new impetus, he was sometimes carried beyond the limits which a cold and calculating prudence would have prescribed. Nor do I intend to justify all his measures. I well recollect several things which were far from being discreet, and which were calculated to excite a strong prejudice against him: and I the more readily pass this opinion on part of the conduct of an individual whose memory I shall ever revere, because, more than once afterwards, I heard him express his regret on account of these imprudences." p. 104.

After stating that the whole of the opposition this clergyman met with ought not to be charged to the score of religion, Mr. Jerram proceeds:—

"I would take this opportunity of urging upon every zealous advocate of the

peculiar truths of the Gospel, the necessity of caution, lest by any indiscretion he excite unnecessary prejudice. It is of the last importance clearly to distinguish between what is *essential* and what may be only *expedient*. In the former, no compromise can possibly be made. The truth, in a Christian spirit, and in its just proportions, must be delivered, fearless of all consequences. But there is much scope for deliberation, as to the extent to which *improvements* ought to be pushed. A minister may discharge his own conscience, and his flock may be saved, without adopting them at all: and it becomes a simple question of ultimate advantage or disadvantage, whether they should be introduced. Taken by themselves, the question is decided at once; but, taken in their necessary connexion with other things, they require a sound judgment to determine their expediency. The benefit expected may be purchased at too high a price: and the price should be ascertained, to its full extent, before any experiment be made. If some good men had previously calculated the degree of irritation and the party spirit which a change in modes of singing; or in the usual version of the Psalms; or in times of performing Divine service; and other innovations on long-established customs, were likely to produce, they would have hesitated before they adopted the obnoxious measures: and at least have waited till a fair opportunity had occurred of making the alteration, with the least possible violence to inveterate prejudices. Rashness, in these respects, has frequently excited strong opposition; and sometimes led to the removal of valuable men from important stations. In such cases, it is unjust to attach these consequences to a faithful discharge of pastoral duties: they ought rather to be ascribed to a want of judgment, and an ill-disciplined mind, in the individual who forced his plans, and could brook no opposition to his wishes. I say nothing of those measures which some would adopt, in direct opposition to the usages and discipline of the church to which they belong: because it seems to be a violation of the principles of common honesty, to trample upon the regulations to which they had voluntarily bound themselves. No man can have received a dispensation to set at nought his own vows, as well as the decent order, which the wisdom and piety of the best of men had prescribed: and when, after having done this, he charges those, whose duty it is to guard the institutions of the church against innovation, with persecution for righteousness' sake, for having discountenanced his irregularities, and appeals to the public on the hardship of his case, he merits any thing rather than that Christian sympathy to which he lays claim, and which he is sometimes fortunate enough to obtain." pp. 107—109.

We shall only observe that these qualifying observations proceed from a writer who to the full admits the necessity of clear spiritual views, and of a bold and zealous avowal of Christian doctrine; and that we have therefore here a further confutation of those objectors who would lower every thing within their reach to a worldly level, and consign every thing beyond it to the charge either of blind enthusiasm or blank imposture. The testimony of such men as Mr. Jerram to this point is invaluable. We thank God that we have amongst us a zeal tempered with knowledge, and a knowledge working by zeal; a knowledge ever sought from those pure fountains, "fast by the oracles of God;" a zeal ever intent on the best method of opening the streams of instruction and grace to the whole world.

But we can no longer suffer Mr. Jerram to lead us astray into his own pleasing digressions, and must now confine our further observations to the closing scene of his beloved daughter's life; to which will be also found a most important appendage, in the subsequent death-bed of his eldest son. It is a very true definition of religion, that it is the art of dying well. On this, as well as on every other account, we are not surprised, and we still less regret that Mr. Jerram has dedicated so large a portion a full third, of his miscellaneous little volume to the important scene. A death-bed unveils often what is obscure; defines every feature, and heightens every colour. Holy dying is the completion of holy living; and though we are fully aware that many deceptions may arise in the last scene where the former life has not been under the influence of true piety, yet, where holy living has been witnessed, and nothing peculiar supervenes to darken the closing scene, no spectacle can be more truly worthy of interest and sympathy than the dying Christian. It is here, however, that our observations on biography, as distinct from tale-

telling may be brought especially to bear. The fictitious and real death-bed may have the greatest possible dissimilitude. In the one case, it is as *we* please; in the other case, it is as *God* pleases. In the one case, it may be just as we expected it would and ought to be; in the other, it may be quite the reverse. The lessons to be learnt from a true obituary may be no less surprising than true, and in appearance even contradictory, though, in the result, most important. Under such impressions, Mr. Jerram seems to have transcribed from the life the last days of his beloved daughter's earthly sojourn; the circumstances of which were deeply painful. Seldom indeed have we read a relation of the kind more distressingly interesting, associated as it is with the knowledge that "*it is all true.*" Miss Jerram—of the most blameless and unoffending life; fraught with good deeds, the fruits of faith; and knowing that her whole claim to acceptance lay in the merits of her Saviour's obedience unto death—does not yet appear to have enjoyed that full assurance of hope, or even that entire peacefulness of mind, except quite at the last, which we might have anticipated. Such a circumstance must have inconceivably aggravated the feelings of her afflicted parents, overtaken as they had been by utter surprise with respect to the actual nature and danger of her bodily disorder. The contrast between this first surprise and their former blissful intercourse with this idolized object of parental attachment, is most deeply affecting. And when the heart-rending disclosure was made both to parents and child, the additional conflict of feeling from a near and a religious view of the rapid approach of the king of terrors combined to produce a tale of anguish which can scarcely be exceeded. No party had been sufficiently prepared for an event which possibly might have been to be feared many weeks before. And



the sudden transition from all the pursuits, and innocent *pleasures* shall we call them? or *duties*, of life, for with Hannah Jerram they were but one, to the immediate work of preparation for the last solemn close, was sufficient to have overpowered for a moment the strongest mind and best regulated heart. The tender spirit of Miss Jerram sank at first under the pressure: and she fell into a state very natural to her own habitual humility and jealousy over herself—a state of doubt as to her *fitness* to appear before the tribunal of God; and, by a deduction not remote from that feeling, of doubt also as to her *personal interest* in the merits of her Saviour. Nothing that we can see, from first to last, in her education, or her present treatment, could be fairly alleged as tending to create such apprehensions. They seem, as far as appears to us, the simple result of circumstances occurring under God's high permission: and perhaps the only exception we should take at the affecting narrative of Mr. Jerram, is the weight of concern he expresses at so probable an occurrence; and his evident labour to guard against an impression as to the incongruity of such feelings with such a life. To our minds, we must say, the circumstances related by Mr. Jerram, if not such as might have been expected before hand, yet, *when* related, appear beautifully illustrative of the history which had preceded. On the one hand, the careless in life will be careless in death. "There are no bands in *their* death, but their strength is firm;" whilst, on the other, the careful, the anxious, the tried servant of God will often have to complain, that "every day has he been plagued, and chastened every morning." The stake he will feel to be infinitely important; and while the lot is still lying in the lap he may even fearfully await the disposing thereof by the Lord. In short, we are not to expect miracles at any period of this dark earthly scene; and very generally, as a man has lived, in point of concern for his

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everlasting interests, so will he die. But it will be needful to give an extract bearing upon this portion of the interesting history before us, together with a part of Mr. Jerram's excellent observations on the difference between *faith* and *hope*.

"There was such a *predominance* of what was truly Christian, moral, and amiable in her character, as clearly to shew that she had been 'renewed in the spirit of her mind;' and was an ornament to her Christian profession. It might therefore be expected, perhaps, that, in her case, death would have been divested of his terrors, and that she would have passed through the mortal conflict, if not with triumph, at least with calmness and composure. But the contrary of this actually took place. When 'the king of terrors' first presented himself, she was filled with dreadful consternation, and shruok back with horror from the awful conflict. She was agitated with such an internal tempest, as I had never before witnessed: and no sinking mariner ever clung to the last plank with so much eagerness as she did to the cross of Christ. All around her seemed a wide waste of desolation. The billows rolled. Deep called to deep; and 'all hope that she should be saved was taken away,' except as this cross afforded her a stay. Never can I forget this awful moment. We were like persons standing on the shore, beholding the storm, but incapable of affording any assistance. All that we most loved and cherished, and almost adored, was tossed on the tempestuous waves. Our hearts failed us. We directed, we encouraged, we exhorted. We pointed to the hand of Omnipotence, stretched forth for her deliverance; and said, Be of good courage! We entreated her to take fast hold of it, and assured her she was safe. We pledged our life that there was no danger; and told her it was impossible she could perish;—that she was just on shore; and that angels were waiting to welcome her arrival in the haven of rest! But—O! the infinite stake she had in the event of a single moment! ....." pp. 140, 141.

Passing over some very striking observations, in explanation of this distressing case, we proceed to the following remarks.

"It is at times like this, that the importance of a close and somewhat familiar acquaintance with the kind and compassionate character of Jesus Christ, and a persuasion of an interest in his merits, is chiefly seen. There may be a firm reliance on the atoning sacrifice; a sincere devotedness of heart to the service of God: and an habitual predominance of holy af-

sections towards him: and yet such an awful perception of the distance between the humble individual, and the infinitely glorious God, as to preclude all "joy and peace in believing." And when a natural timidity of disposition, and a keen perception of religious deficiencies, are connected with this profound reverence, there must necessarily arise great doubt and distrust in peculiar emergencies; and especially, in the near prospect of dissolution. Nothing, we know, is so suitable to a weak and sinful being as the humble and contrite heart, which trembles at the Divine word; and such, we are assured, are the peculiar objects of God's favour; but yet there is a close affinity between this state of mind, and anxious fear: and nothing but a most vivid perception and persuasion of our personal interest in the sufferings of Christ for the sins of mankind can overcome the feeling of personal guilt and unworthiness. When therefore these things do not accompany each other, (and there is no necessary connexion between them,) the most excellent Christian may be brought into great doubt, and even despondency: whilst at the same time he may be in perfect safety, and high in the favour of God.

"The difference between *faith* and *hope* is not always sufficiently attended to; and much presumption on the one hand, and despondency on the other, have arisen from confounding them. One person considers himself a believer of high attainments, because he entertains no doubt of his being in a state of salvation; and another doubts whether he be a believer at all, because he cannot persuade himself that his sins are forgiven. But it is obvious that two distinct and very different acts of the mind are here confounded and blended together:—one, which assents to the fact of Jesus Christ being the only and all-sufficient Saviour of sinners; and which places a reliance on the atoning sacrifice, for pardon of sin and acceptance with God, which is the province of *faith*; and another, which appropriates to itself the blessings of this salvation, and confidently expects a future state of felicity, which is the province of *hope*. Now it is clear that these persuasions of the mind may exist separately from each other; and that one of them may be very strong; whilst the other has scarcely any existence at all. St. Paul clearly recognises this distinction, when he offers up a prayer for the church at Rome (xv. 13,) that 'the God of *hope* would fill them with all *joy and peace in believing*.' It is here implied that genuine faith may exist without either *joy or peace*; and by addressing his prayer to 'the God of *hope*,' he intimates that *joy and peace* are the fruit of *hope*, and are distinct blessings, and to be superadded to the grace of faith. Faith, then, may not only be unaccompanied by hope, but remain without any joy or even consolation; and the person possessing it may

continue under great dejection of mind. Nor is it, in point of fact uncommon to find Christians, who have no doubt whatever of the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, and who come to him alone for salvation; and yet are subject to distressing fears lest they should not be partakers of the blessings of the Gospel. I recollect a striking instance of the truth of this remark, in the case of a late eminent Christian minister. For a long time previous to his death, he laboured under a morbid affection of the nerves which sometimes brought him to the very verge of despondency: and on one occasion, he said to me, 'My conviction of the truth of these things (laying his hand on the Bible) is stronger now than it ever was; but I have no interest in them.' Had this excellent man died in this state of mind, no one could have reasonably doubted of his safety; for the obvious reason that he exercised the fullest faith in Christ; and had shown its genuine character, in a holy and most useful life; though he denied that he had any hope of ultimately sharing in the blessings of salvation. The 'full assurance of hope' is indeed an invaluable privilege, and cannot be too earnestly desired; but it is no where stated in Scripture as being essential to our future happiness, as faith is: and a person may be a genuine Christian, without the former though not without the latter. (Mark xvi. 16.) pp. 147—151.

Mr. Jerram, with a faithfulness which reflects the highest credit on himself, and gives true value to his work, unveils many a heart-rending scene which follows; more especially after some faint interposing hopes, magnified into a momentary expectation, of the recovery of his beloved child. These favourable symptoms afforded a crisis at once corporeal and mental. No material struggle of mind appeared subsequently to that change. A merciful preparation for the last scene seems to have been provided in this intermediate stage. The nascent hopes as to her recovery, were, it is true, soon nipped; and the afflicted parents became partakers of the trying experience of the Psalmist, "Thou hast lifted me up and cast me down." But the daughter seems to have insensibly passed into a state of calm contemplation and silent devotion, from which no alarm at the final advances of her disorder aroused her: she lay in a frame of peaceful reciprocity as the

blessed truths of the Gospel were occasionally presented to her; her affectionate attention to the feelings of her weeping parents shewed itself to the last; and she at length breathed her latest breath without struggle or sigh, and with those words dying on her lips with reference to the all-atoning Sacrifice, "I have no other hope."

It seems to have been a mercy singularly appropriate to the overwhelmed survivors, that, a few hours after her death, the following "admonitory and most seasonable lines" were found apparently recently copied on a blank leaf of a pocket Bible which was her constant companion:

"With peaceful mind, thy path of duty run;  
God nothing does nor suffers to be done,  
But what thou wouldst thyself, couldst thou but see  
Through all events of things, as well as He." p. 224.

The lessons of consolation which the subsequent pages of the narrative afford to the afflicted, on the one hand, and the warning voice which, on the other, they address to the young and inexperienced, cannot be too often turned over, or too highly prized. May such lessons have their effect; May they teach an early and decisive detachment from a world which we all love too well; indeed from every object terminating in this life; and even from merely earthly views of those blessings which are given us to carry forward our hopes to an eternity of bliss.—We consider as highly important the observations in which Mr. Jerram enlarges on the possible effects of some supposed neglect in not availing himself of all opportunities for spiritual conversation with his beloved daughter when in health, with close application to her own case. And happy would it be were we induced to converse more with each other, as fellow-citizens of a heavenly state, fellow-travellers to an everlasting home. It might serve doubtless to relieve much of that surprise which too often is induced by the sudden

irruption of the last enemy, and might alleviate the painfulness of those last disclosures which few perhaps had less reason to fear than the gentle and faithful spirit of Hannah Jerram.

The same volume, which in its first three editions narrated only the true and affecting details above mentioned, adds, in its fourth, a new and striking instance of "God's moving in a mysterious way." To the heavy weight of preceding trials, it adds the death of an eldest son. Yet the pressure which might have seemed severe beyond all common endurance, appears in fact to have been medicinal. It wounded and it healed. It stands with a most important bearing on all that preceded in the volume before us, as well as on all that had passed in the dark volume of parental feeling. It opened fully those views of life which we had almost said nothing but deep affliction can disclose. It operated in appearance to take off the mind from every human rest and sublunary stay, and to fix it upon that which is alone stable and divine—even on "that which is within the veil." So at least we collect from the sentiments of Mr. Jerram. It was on the 18th of September 1824, one year and four months after the death of Hannah, that her brother, C. S. Jerram, was taken ill. It was, however, not till the morning which preceded his death, on the 26th, that any serious alarm was felt. Mr. Jerram writes,

"Being under the necessity of going to town on Thursday the 23d, and being assured by one of his medical attendants that there was no apparent cause for expecting an unfavourable termination of his malady, I spoke to my son of my intention, and asked him a few questions on the state of his mind. He said his faith and entire confidence were placed on Jesus Christ; and he asked me, as I then thought, to pray for him, though it afterwards appeared that he meant I should pray with him. After he found I was gone, he expressed much uneasiness, and was particularly grieved that I had not prayed with him. This, indeed, I should have done, notwithstanding my mistaking his request, had I not been afraid lest, under the circumstance of my going away for that



and the following day, it might be too much for his feelings. I regret, however, the omission; and I hope I shall hereafter think less of momentary emotions, and take the opportunity, when it occurs, of discharging every Christian duty." pp. 257, 258.

On the Saturday, however, symptoms had arisen which rendered necessary the painful disclosure of his son's extreme danger: and this, with an exemplary firmness, to be expected from such a father, as indeed generally due from all friends in similar circumstances, was communicated to the patient himself.

"He received the intelligence without any apparent alarm; and intimated that he was not surprised at the information, but had himself suspected that his case was dangerous. From this time till that of his death, I scarcely ever left his bedside. Indeed, if I were absent for a moment he immediately inquired, 'Where is my father?' and seemed uneasy till he saw me return. At one time, when I had been directing his views to the all-sufficiency of the Saviour, and said 'he is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him,' he replied, with emphasis, 'Yes, and he is also *willing* to save;' and on my adding, 'O yes, he is indeed willing to save, and that the greatest of sinners,' he rejoined, 'If it were not so, what must become of such poor wretched sinners as we are?' He then said, if it should please God to restore him to health, he trusted he should be more diligent in his service than he ever had been: and I may here remark, that it was chiefly the sins of *omission* that most grieved him. He thought he might have done more in the cause of religion than he had done, and he determined on a life of greater zeal and devotedness, if he were permitted to return to health." pp. 259—261.

The intercourse which subsequently took place was such as might have been expected between such a father and such a son. "I love to lean upon my dear father," said the dying son on one occasion when requiring support, "because it reminds me of leaning upon my heavenly Father." And on another occasion he evinced the same affectionate tenderness, when, on hearing from his mother the expression of kindness from a near friend, he exclaimed, "Stop!—do not say any more, such kindness quite overpowers me;" and he burst into tears.

When it is understood that the general disposition of this youth, then twenty-one years old, was of this kind, so formed by nature and so renewed by Divine grace, we seem prepared for that which did take place in him, whilst it was in part mysteriously withheld from his Christian sister; namely, an uninterrupted flow of joy and unclouded serenity of hope, from the earliest to the latest period of his short mortal disorder.

The bearing of these scenes on those which had preceded in the same family, sixteen months before, will be most fully understood by the last extract we shall give from this memorial, and which will leave room for but few of our own closing observations. After remarking, that, notwithstanding the assured confidence of his hope as on a rock that had long been tried,

"nothing could well exceed the humility with which he viewed his own character; but he was mercifully enabled (as far as any one could ascertain the fact) during the whole of his illness, and especially the last day of it, to turn his thoughts from himself to the all-sufficiency and willingness of the Saviour to save the greatest of sinners;" p. 276.

Mr. Jerram proceeds:

"And herein I cannot help thinking that the rough passage, which his beloved sister had experienced during a part of her voyage to the haven of rest had smoothed the waters for him, for he evidently had her frequently in mind: he quoted most of the passages of Scripture, as actually affording him comfort, which were presented to her, with a view to bring consolation, and as though he had begun in his sickness where she appeared to leave off. Enjoying, from the first, a full confidence that he should be accepted for the sake of the Saviour, he seemed never to have had this confidence shaken; and the enemy was not permitted for a moment, apparently, to harass his mind. If this were the case, how can I be sufficiently thankful for the events of my dear daughter's last few days, and for having been enabled to record them!" pp. 276, 277.

Thus have we brought our extracts and notice of this double memoir to a close; and our readers, we think, will agree with us in thinking we have not dwelt on it too long. The experience of two highly

interesting and Christian death-beds, and the bearing of each on a surviving Christian family, whose living feelings could scarcely have met with a more vivid and faithful painter than the present devout and talented author, form, independently of all other matter in this volume, a subject for contemplation alike interesting to the public instructor and the private Christian. The mixture of sobriety in principle with fervour in feeling, of practical circumspection with sublime contemplation, of self-renouncing faith with self-denying holiness and the truest obedience; this handed down from parent to child, and beautifully displayed in either generation, and surmounted by a really magnificent exercise, under most trying circumstances, of Christian resignation and triumphant patience, both in the living and the dying;—all this, we say, forms together a phenomenon which, if uncommon amongst Christians, ought surely to be exhibited for its instructive novelty; but if *not* uncommon, then still more deserving publication, for the credit of our blessed religion, and for being one case only of many to prove that to be most excellent which lifts us far above the waves of this troublesome world, and that to be divine which actually raises us up together, and makes us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

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*The West Indies as they are; or a real Picture of Slavery, but more particularly as it exists in the Island of Jamaica.* By the Rev. RICHARD BICKELL, a member of the University of Cambridge, late Naval Chaplain at Port-Royal, some time Curate of that Parish, and previously of the City of Kingston, in the aforesaid Island. London: Hatchard. 1825. 8vo. pp. 256.

SOME of our readers, we fear, begin to be tired of the subject of slavery. Its enormities, however, still exist-

ing in almost undiminished force and malignity, notwithstanding all that the government, and the parliament, and the public have laboured to effect for its mitigation and final extinction, we are compelled by a sense of duty still to recur to the painful topic, and to reiterate our calls on the Christian world to persevere in their efforts on behalf of the oppressed slaves. We have endeavoured to make our readers acquainted with the real nature and effects of Negro bondage. Still we fear that the general impression of the iniquity and wretchedness of the system is far less deep and vivid than the truth of the case, if it were fully understood, would justify. On this account, we hail with satisfaction the appearance of the present volume, which is the work of a clergyman of the Church of England, who resided for about five years in the West Indies, chiefly on the island of Jamaica. We cannot, it is true, speak in very high terms of the work as a composition. It abounds in faults of style, and is expanded to very undue dimensions. But, though it might have been contracted, with advantage, into a much smaller space, and might have been divested of many blemishes which diminish its value as a literary production, it is nevertheless a most important as well as seasonable accession to our stock of information on a subject of peculiar interest. The writer is evidently a fair, upright, and unbiassed witness, who describes plainly and distinctly, and we would add fearlessly, the scenes which have recently passed under his own eyes; and no one can peruse his observations without an irresistible impression of the fidelity with which it is his purpose to execute the task he has undertaken. He paints the West Indies as they are in the eye of an impartial Christian observer; and his testimony has this peculiar recommendation, that it is given by one who is uninfluenced by party feelings, and exempt from controversial asperity. Mr. Bickell is a moderate man, by no

means disposed to go all lengths in vituperating those whose practices he feels himself compelled to condemn. He sympathises with his West-Indian friends in the difficulties of their situation, and is solicitous both for their personal safety and for the security of their property. The tale, at the same time, which he has unfolded is a tale of horror. We refer to it with confidence, as establishing in their full extent the specific charges which have been preferred against the West-Indian system. If Mr. Bickell is to be believed, and his book bears every mark of truth, then is the indictment against the colonies not only found to be a true bill, but a verdict of guilty must be recorded, and condemnation, we trust, will follow.

In the course of the last year the Anti-Slavery Society published a sheet for general circulation throughout the country, containing "A Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies of Great Britain." This statement has been vehemently attacked by different advocates of the colonial system, as false and calumnious; and particularly by Mr. Gladstone, in his correspondence with Mr. Cropper, published by the West-Indian Committee of Liverpool, and by Mr. Macqueen of Glasgow. In order that the reader may judge of its correctness, we shall transcribe a part of it for the purpose of more easy comparison with the statements of Mr. Bickell.

"In the colonies of Great Britain there are at this moment upwards of 800,000 human beings in a state of degrading personal slavery.

"These unhappy persons, whether young or old; male or female, are the absolute property of their master, who may sell or transfer them at his pleasure, and who may also regulate according to his discretion (within certain limits) the measure of their labour, their food, and their punishment."

"The Slaves being regarded in

the eye of the law as mere chattels, they are liable to be seized in execution for their master's debts, and, without any regard to the family ties which may be broken by this oppressive and merciless process, to be sold by auction to the highest bidder, who may remove them to a distant part of the same colony, or even exile them to another colony.

Now, let us see what confirmation these statements of the Anti-slavery Society's *Brief View* derive from Mr. Bickell's book.

"Slavery is undoubtedly and confessedly one of the greatest evils that ever was inflicted on the human race, and has been considered as the greatest curse by all nations, in all ages of the world." (p. 1.) "It was reserved for modern times, for men calling themselves Christians, and nations professing the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus, to carry this heaviest curse inflicted on the human race to its highest pitch." (p. 3.)—Of this system, some of the harsher and more cruel features may have been done away. "Still however much remains to be done, both in a physical and religious point of view, before the Negroes can be said to approximate to even the lowest and worst paid poor of the British islands." (p. 4.)—"The great body of the colonists, with very few exceptions, look upon the Negroes as beings every way inferior to the Whites; and this is one great cause of their ill treatment, and being deprived of many little privileges which, I think, might with perfect safety be granted them." (p. 8.) "They look upon the Blacks as much beneath themselves, as the brutes are beneath the Negroes; they think them hardly capable of religious impressions, and almost insensible to punishment. This is one great reason of their depressed state and frequent rigorous treatment." (p. 197.) "These illiberal opinions," he adds, "I can positively assert, are adopted and held by a great part of the colonists of the present day."

"Another of the evils of slavery is, that the slaves are so degraded and depressed in the eye of the law as not to be considered persons, but mere animals or chattels; so that they can be sold, not only at the will and pleasure of their masters or owners, to any other person, at any part of the island, but can be seized and sold for debt, by a writ of execution, and exposed for sale at a public auction to the best bidder. Many a bitter cry is heard when the marshal's deputies (dogs as they are emphatically called) are sent to hunt down and seize the victim or victims, and drive or drag them away to



the workhouse, or gaol, till the day of sale arrives, which is to deprive them of their little homes, the gardens they have cultivated, the acquaintances they have made, and all the little comforts which make even slavery, in some measure, tolerable. This hardship is much increased when slaves are married, or have families, as the woman may be separated from her husband, or parents from their children; for here the tenderest ties of nature are broken in an instant, and the wife's or mother's, or children's cries would not be in the least attended to, nor heeded, any more than the moans of so many [brute] animals." pp. 16, 17.

"The distress and terror among a gang of Negroes, when the marshal's deputy, with his dogs and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them. I was once on a coffee mountain (staying for a few days with a brother clergyman, who had permission to reside there,) on which were about seventy or eighty Negroes. The proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves to pay themselves; but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and Negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the Argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked, about an hour before daylight, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children. In a few minutes a private servant came to my window and informed me that it was the marshal's deputies making a levy on the Negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the Negro-houses the resistance had ceased; for the Negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief by a fierce and horrid-looking Irishman, who had been one of McGregor's freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broadsword over the poor creature with the grin and growl of a demon.

"Many of the men escaped from the property, and some few others, with some women, secreted themselves among the coffee trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however ten or twelve men, and many of the women and children, amounting in the whole to between thirty and forty, who were huddled together on the outside of the

principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children; for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman in particular, a housewoman, had six or seven children; two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped; but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud and very bitterly for it, saying that she must give herself up if the child was not got back, for she could not live, separated from it. There were many a bitter cry and sad lament among the women and children, for they loved their master, who was kind, and had excellent provision grounds for them; but most of the men were dogged and sullen, and only wanted arms to obtain their freedom from the savage Whites and their associates, who now guarded them. As it was, two or three of the poor fellows were wounded; and I was assured by a free Brown man, who was looking after the property in the master's absence, that had the proprietor been there, there would have been sad work, and very likely murder; for it was an illegal levy, and the resistance would have been desperate under their master's eye and voice. They were tied together, or hand-cuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish-Town gaol, a distance of twenty miles; but as they had been seized before sun-rise, and the fence had been also broken through, both of which are illegal, the owner obtained their enlargement shortly after, and they were allowed to go back to the spot they loved. I might here remark, that the labour is much lighter on a coffee mountain than on a sugar estate, and that the Negroes are not required to be up so much at night, to pick and cure coffee, as they are to make sugar; where, therefore, they have good provision grounds, as they had on this mountain I have been speaking of, they are much more comfortable, and less harassed than on a sugar estate." pp. 19-23.

Has any thing ever been written by Mr. Cooper or Mr. Meabry; or has any thing ever been asserted by Mr. Wilberforce or Mr. Buxton, more damnable of the slave system than the above simple narrative of a respectable eye-witness?

We could not, without quoting nearly the whole of Mr. Bickell's book, adduce any passage which is directly in point as to the absolute right of property in his slaves possessed by the West-India planter. That right, however, is assumed throughout the work, as well as in all the arguments

of West Indians on this subject. In the absence of Mr. Bickell's direct testimony upon it, we shall be excused for referring to authority at least equally unquestionable.

The Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, made in 1789, states, that "the leading idea in the Negro system of jurisprudence was," "that Negroes were property."—"The numerous laws passed in the different islands" "had uniformly this for their object." This principle has been at the root of all the laws of slavery which have prevailed in all our colonies without exception; and it has hitherto undergone no modification. Nor is it merely tacitly assumed as the basis of legislation: it is fully recognized in many recent acts of the colonial assemblies.

The practice is in strict accordance with the law. It is impossible to look into a West-Indian newspaper without seeing advertisements by proprietors of the sale of Negroes; or by the marshals or under-sheriffs, and by the collectors of the revenue, of slaves levied upon, either for debt or for taxes. For example, in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of June 15, 1823:—

"For sale, Charlottenburg estate, in the parish of St. Mary's, consisting of 98½ acres of land, about 86 head of working stock, and 89 Negroes."

April 26, 1823. "For sale, 15 valuable young Negroes, together or singly, to suit purchasers."

May 10, 1823. "Notice is hereby given, that on Tuesday next I will put up to public sale, a Negro woman, named Violet, a Creole, accustomed to all sorts of work, levied upon for taxes due, by G. H. Swift."

April 26, 1823. For sale, under a writ of venditioni exponas, "Charles James, a Black, a waiting boy, aged 6 years, belonging to M. Freeman."

"William, a Black, a waiting boy, age 8 years, belonging to M. Muir."

"Tom, a Black, a waiting boy, age 18 years, belonging to S. Bowen."

"Frances, a Black, a field Negro, age 34 years, belonging to C. Cole."

"Quasheba, a Black, a drudge, age 28 years, belonging to Solomon Isaac."

"George Frazer, a Black, a carpenter, age 35 years, belonging to M. Gowrey."

Such extracts might be indefinitely multiplied. These will suffice to shew that men, women, and children are regarded absolutely as property, and are seized and sold as unceremoniously as cattle or household goods for the payment of debts or of taxes, or are disposed of by proprietors in gangs, or singly, as best suits their interest.

It has indeed been confidently affirmed, that the law of Jamaica forbids the separation of families, by sale. There is, however, no such law. And if there were, yet in practice it is obviously violated every day. There is a law indeed, that when persons of the same family are seized by the marshal, they shall be sold together. But what law can ensure their being *seized*, as well as *sold* together; And even this law is no restraint on the power of the proprietor. He may sell *fifteen young Negroes either together or singly*, as best suits his interest. And then to look at the sales by the marshal or tax-gatherer; had Quasheba or Violet no relations or connexions, their ties with whom were torn asunder? Had the infants of six and eight years, sold singly, no parent, no brother, no sister? These facts speak volumes.

Nothing can shew more strongly, the extreme vigilance with which this right of property is guarded in the West Indies, than the fact that when Colonel Arthur had communicated to Earl Bathurst the details of a most atrocious series of barbarities, exercised by one Carty upon a female slave, his lordship was compelled thus to write in reply: "The cruel conduct of this inhuman wretch could not fail to excite feelings of pity and commiseration; and I immediately submitted your letter, &c. to the law officers of the crown, to know how far I was authorized to

direct you to manumit the unfortunate woman. But they report, that Carty is indictable only for the cruelty committed; *that as she is his property, there is no power to take her away*, consequently none for her manumission. I can only therefore express my concern that such a wretch should remain unpunished."

Now if the absolute and uncontrollable right of property vested in the slave-holder be such as to force his Majesty's Government to declare their utter impotency to redress such grievous wrongs, it will follow as a matter of course that the master's discretion will regulate, within certain limits, the measure of a slave's labour, as well as of his food and punishment. To what privations and sufferings would not a mother submit, before she would expose herself to the exercise of the master's power of separating her from her children? The following occurrence related by Mr. Gilgrass, a Methodist missionary, speaks volumes on this point.

"A master of slaves who lived near us in Kingston, Jamaica, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel; and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and, one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feeling she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This 'turned her heart within her,' and impelled her into a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard; tore her hair; ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, '*Da wicked massa Jew, he sell my children. Will no Buckra massa pity Negar? What me do? Me no have one child!*' As she stood

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before the window, she said, lifting up her hands towards heaven, '*My massa, do, my massa minister, pity me! My heart do so*' (shaking herself violently,) '*my heart do so, because me have no child. Me go to massa house, in massa yard, and in my hut and me no see 'em.*' And then her cry went up to God."—(Watson's Defence of Methodists, p. 26.)

The principle developed under this head, will receive a farther illustration as we proceed with our review.

"Many of the slaves are (and all may be) branded, by means of a hot iron, on the shoulder or other conspicuous part of the body, with the initials of their master's name, and thus bear about them, in indelible characters, the proof of their debased and servile state."—Brief View.

"With respect to this horrid custom of branding the slaves," observes Mr. Bickell, "it is not so common now as it was before the abolition of the slave trade: for then it was customary to brand the greater part, that they might be known in case of running away. The Creoles, or those born in the colonies, are not so apt to desert, though many of them are branded when they are inclined to wander, as may be seen by consulting any of the work-house lists that are published in some of the weekly newspapers of the islands. It is a horrid practice, for it must be attended with very acute and lasting pain besides the disgraceful and disgusting appearance of seeing a human being marked like, or worse than, a horse,—because that principle, that unconquerable desire of freedom, or liberty, implanted in every mind, has tempted the unfortunate being to quit a place of ill treatment; for they seldom run away unless they have been ill used in some way or other." p. 37.

Mr. Bickell confirms this statement, by a long list of instances, occupying nine or ten pages, taken from the Jamaica newspapers. We shall extract only a very few specimens.

"John Stevens, a likely young Creole Negro man, 5 ft. 6½ in. marked MI on left shoulder, has a large scar on the left side of his throat, and other scars between his shoulders and neck, to the estate of Mr. Mark, of Black River, dec.—Aug. 5. 1823." p. 39.

"Philip, a Creole Sambo man, of Carthage, 5 ft. 5 in. marked ICD on left, and



LH apparently, but blotched, on right shoulder, to Charles Newman, Esq. Manchester.—Sept. 10, 1823." p. 39.

"Richard, a Creole, 5 ft. 5½ in. marked apparently CC and CA on shoulders, and CA on left cheek, to Syssons estate.—Sept. 29, 1823." p. 43.

"William Nelson, alias Thomas Mole, an Eboe, 5 ft. 5½ in. marked ASIA on shoulders, breasts, and cheeks, to Mr. Holmes, of Vere.—Oct. 17, 1823." p. 44.

"The Slaves, whether male or female, are driven to hard labour by the impulse of the cart-whip, for the sole benefit of their owners, from whom they receive no wages; and this labour is continued with certain intermissions for breakfast and dinner,) from morning to night, throughout the year.

"In the season of crop, which lasts for four or five months of the year, their labour is protracted not only throughout the day, as at other times, but during either half the night or the whole of every alternate night.

"Besides being made to work under the lash, without wages, during six days of the week, the Slaves are further obliged to labour for their own maintenance on that day which ought to be devoted to repose and religious instruction. And as that day is also their only market-day, it follows that 'Sunday shines no Sabbath-day to them,' but is of necessity a day of worldly occupation, and much bodily exertion.

"The colonial laws arm the master, or any one to whom he may delegate his authority, with a power to punish his slaves to a certain extent, without the intervention of the magistrate, and without any responsibility for the use of this tremendous discretion; and to that extent he may punish them for any offence, or for no offence. These discretionary punishments are usually inflicted on the naked body, with the cart-whip, an instrument of dreadful severity, which cruelly lacerates the flesh of the sufferer. Even the unhappy females are equally liable with the men to have their persons thus shamelessly exposed and barbarously tortured, at the caprice of their master or overseer."—Brief View.

On these several heads Mr. Bickell is clear and copious in his statement.

"The universal custom in Jamaica," he observes, "is not to allow the slaves any wages, (except a few domestics in the towns, where they are allowed from two shillings and three pence to three shillings sterling per week\*,) but to each slave is apportioned a piece of land, which he is to cultivate at the portions of time allowed him, and on which he raises roots and other vegetables, such as yams, coconuts, and plantains, for himself and family, if he have any; the females have portions of land as well as the men, and provide for themselves, when single; but when married or living constantly with a man, they often unite their grounds, and conjointly labour for themselves and families, till the children arrive at a certain age, when they must provide for themselves. The vegetables, provisions as they call them, they commonly boil in an iron pot (sometimes they roast them) in the open air, and to qualify them they are allowed a few salt herrings each, not always of the best kind; and they are served out to them once a week or fortnight, most commonly the former; but at Christmas, on most estates and plantations, they have an extra allowance of salt cod-fish, which they use in like manner." p. 9.

"All the field slaves are allowed by the law of the island, every other Saturday out of crop-time, and some extra days after crop, to make up the number of twenty-six days in the year, when they are to labour in their grounds to raise provisions for their subsistence. Crop-time means the time that the mill is at work for grinding canes to make sugar, and this generally lasts from Christmas to June or July; so that the slaves get only from fourteen to sixteen days in the year, besides a few extra days after crop, in which to work their grounds, and on many estates and plantations, they get no extra days at all: so that these few days being wholly insufficient, the Sundays are intruded on; and the Sabbath, therefore, is with most a day of labour instead of a day of rest.

\* Mr. Bickell is usually very accurate in his statements. Here he has committed a slight mistake. He calls the money allowed to domestic slaves in towns, wages; whereas it is not wages, but merely the subsistence money allowed by law, in lieu of the produce of provision grounds,—in fact, "board wages," which is quite a distinct thing from wages. The law on this subject will be found in the 6th clause of the Slave Code of Dec. 1816; and it ordains, that "where there are not proper lands, each slave is to have provision equal to 3s. 4d. per week," which is equal to 2s. 4½d. sterling.

"This is certainly a hardship, and shews that the object of the planters is to obtain the greatest quantity of labour possible." pp. 11, 12.

"This is also a principal cause of one of the greatest hardships in West Indian slavery; I mean, the constant use of the whip; for seeing that work is their only portion, they are, as I before observed, inclined to be indolent, and a driver is continually after them in the field, to flog them with his heavy whip, if they do not work so hard as he thinks they ought. It is certainly a most degrading sight to see one fellow-creature following twenty, thirty, or forty others, and every now and then lashing them as he would a team of horses or mules: but this is not all, for if any one offends more than ordinarily, master driver, who has almost unlimited power, takes him or her from the ranks, and, having two or three strong Negroes to hold the culprit down, lays on twenty or thirty lashes, with all his might. Thirty-nine is the number specified by law, beyond which even a White man cannot legally go in one day; but I have seen a Black driver lay on, most unmercifully, upwards of forty at one time, whilst his fellow-slave was crying out for mercy, so that he could be heard a quarter of a mile from the spot." pp. 12, 13.

"I once saw it done in the mountains of Port-Royal, on a property belonging to a Mr. Regnier. I was walking out with a Mr. Jackson, the custos of the parish, who had a coffee mountain near, when we heard the cries of some one as being punished, and the sound of a whip. On looking down from the mountain, where we were, we saw a Negro on the side of another mountain, held down on his stomach, and the driver flogging him with all his strength. Curiosity led us to see how many lashes he would lay on before he stopped, and he had exceeded forty, before I called out aloud to him to desist. He then ceased, and I asked what had made him flog the other so severely; when he replied that the offender had been set to watch his master's provision grounds, last night, and had suffered some of the plain-tains to be stolen or had stolen them himself.

"Though this driver had exceeded the number which even a White man can inflict by the laws of Jamaica, I never heard that he was degraded or punished for it, and yet the chief magistrate in the parish witnessed the illegal stripes." pp. 197, 198.

"I do not think," he adds, "that the whip can be entirely laid aside whilst slavery exists;—but the *present* use of it should be abolished, and no punishment should be inflicted even by order of an overseer, but of some neighbouring magistrate; for most of the overseers are too fond of flogging, and feel no more for the cries of a Negro than they would for the howling of a dog. Those daily punishments of the present horrid system, for indolence or other trivial faults, lose more-

over their intended effects; for the frequency hardens the poor wretches, and makes them less willing to exert themselves, for after all their endeavours they are not certain of giving satisfaction.

"On every estate or plantation, there are also stocks, in which a proprietor or overseer can place any of the Negroes, for real or supposed faults, as often as he pleases. When a slave has offended more than commonly, he is placed in them for a considerable time, day and night; but sometimes he is sent to the field, to work under the inspection and charge of another in the day, and sent back to the stocks again at night. This is often done when they are given to running away, or after a severe flogging, when they are suspected of being inclined to desert. Sometimes for greater safety, and an increase of punishment, they are sent, without the interference of a magistrate, to the parish work-house, or goal, where they get a severe thirty-nine at going in and coming out, and are worked in pairs, chained together by the neck: in this manner they go out to work on the roads, or in the streets, with a workhouse driver after them, who lashes them pretty sharply to urge them on. I have been told, that in a certain parish they were marched in this heart-rending state to church, though I never saw it myself." pp. 14, 15.

"Just before I left Jamaica I was very credibly informed, by a respectable White person, who lived near the scene of this tragedy, in Kingston, that a Negro had died a few days before from severe flogging, and that the poor fellow had been buried without any inquest having been held, or scarce any notice taken of it, for it was not generally known. The case was this: The Negro had done something wrong: and the master, fearing to give him all the intended punishment at once, had him severely punished three several days following: the consequence was, that the man was unable to do any thing more, but lingered a short time and died, undoubtedly from the cruel and repeated floggings.

"It may be objected, that thirty-nine lashes, or stripes, inflicted on a man for three days following would hardly cause death; but I can assure my readers, that the whip in a strong man's hand is a severe instrument of torture. I had once occasion to send a stout servant boy, or hired slave of my own, to the work-house for punishment, (on account of stealing from a shopkeeper, who complained to me,) and I desired he might be given only two dozen. Though he richly deserved the flogging, yet I was sorry to see him when he returned; for he crept and rolled about the yard for some time, crying aloud, and was so much marked, that he could scarcely sit or walk for several days.

"The power which every owner, or every overseer or other deputy, possesses of flogging the slaves daily, is indeed a

dreadful engine of oppression, and cannot, in my humble opinion, be too soon abolished. It is not enough to say that very few take advantage of that power given them by the law: I would reply, it is neither fit nor just that one single person should be able to do so; for as long as the present law exists, there will be found too many hardhearted and unfeeling masters and mistresses, and overseers, to put the whip in frequent requisition. I have heard of a White lady of good property, of the parish of Westmoreland, who was accustomed to send her female slaves to a large pond, a cattle-pond, to wash themselves, whilst she herself would be mounted on a charger, and would point out to a driver, or some flogging assistant, such and such females as were to be flogged in their naked state!!!

"I knew another lady in the parish of Port-Royal, who had a female slave of Colour, of whom she was rather jealous, (perhaps not without reason, for the poor slave could not long resist the entreaties and presents of her master,) and was in the habit of punishing her severely with her own hand, till the unfortunate creature, like Hagar, the Egyptian, of old, wept aloud for the hardness of her bondage. She was allowed to go out as a servant; and a gentleman of Kingston hired her, and was much pleased, as I heard him say, with her industry and attention to his domestic affairs. The mistress however was not content, but thought her too happy and too well off: so she ordered her back again to her own residence; where the horrible scene of jealousy and consequent flagellation was renewed.

"I am not ignorant of an island law which professes to protect the slaves from severe and cruel punishment, and authorises magistrates to impose a fine on the offender, or even to manumit the slave or slaves for very ill usage, upon complaint being made, and due proof of the fact. But it must not be forgot, that those magistrates to whom complaints are made are themselves slave-owners, and are not over anxious to interfere in such matters. It must be a very strong case indeed, and the Negro must have influenced some lawyer through interest, or some other White man, from ill will or revenge to this owner or deputy that has ill treated him, or he must have used some other means to make it notorious, before he can have much chance of redress.

"I was once present at a sitting of magistrates at Port-Royal, when a complaint was laid by several female Negroes and children, who, through ill treatment, had run away from a certain coffee mountain, and had come to the magistrates for redress. The complaint was, that they had not enough to eat, and had been cruelly punished: for, being domestic slaves, they had pilfered a little provision: to the best of my recollection, a little biscuit and a

few plantains, or a yam or two from the store. For this they were severely punished, by their mistress's order, by a stout male slave, who beat them with a stick, or flogged them more than once. Young mistress also, two of them said, had helped to punish them. Whether this last were true or not, I will not pretend to say; but this I know, that the two women who were the principal complainants looked as if they had been half-starved, and their backs were most cruelly mangled, from their shoulders downwards. They were in such a state that I could not bear to look at them after the first sight, but turned my face away while the examination went on.

"The above cause of their being punished was elicited from themselves; and from their miserable and pitiable appearance it must have been sheer want and keen hunger that drove them to take a little food to satisfy craving nature. That their punishment had been much too severe was manifest to every one; but the principal examining magistrate had been appointed by the Custos of the parish, (the owner of these slaves being a relation,) and was completely his creature: he was therefore inclined to throw a veil over the affair, and for this purpose questioned a Jew, the deputy-president of the workhouse and flogging-master-general, as to the severity of the beating and flogging. 'Do you think,' said this magistrate and president of the workhouse, 'do you think, Mr. B., that a person receiving thirty-nine lashes would have his back injured as much as the backs of these women?' The poor Jew, having some little feeling left, was almost ashamed to say, Yes, and did not dare at the risk of his situation to say, No; so he looked very queer for a short time, and at last said, 'I don't know, sir; but some people shew marks much sooner than others: I have seen some that appeared but little injured after the punishment that the law allows, but others, whose backs are soft, I think might be as bad, or nearly as bad, as the backs of the complainants.' 'Ah,' replied the justice, 'you think so?' and after a few more words, for there was very little consultation, the other magistrate not caring to support a farce which he could not well prevent, they were ordered back to gaol again, with the understanding that their mistress should be spoken to. This was an atrocious case; for these Negroes were cruelly maltreated, and by the slave laws of Jamaica they ought to have been emancipated, or, at least, their owner ought to have been heavily fined; but no redress was obtained, and this too frequently being the case, the poor wretches do not very often lay their complaints before the partial justices for legal redress, (as they get an additional flogging for bringing such a charge, if not well proved,) but weep over, and lament their hard and degrading lot in secret." pp. 25—31.



"The time of labour for the slaves, generally, is from sunrising to sunseting: viz. from five o'clock to seven, one half the year, and from six to six, or thereabout, the other half. They are generally summoned from their slumbers by the cracking of the driver's whip, about half an hour before daylight; which whip, as it is pretty long and heavy, makes the valleys resound and the welkin ring with its alarming sounds, and woe be to the hapless slave who does not lend a willing ear and speedy footsteps to its repeated calls." "If he be absent at roll-call, the judge, juror, and executioner, all stand by him in the shape of an inexorable driver, and, without any defence or leave of appeal, he is subjected to the lash. Nor will a trifling excuse serve the black female:" "she makes the best of her way to take her place, her unequal share of the task, by the strong-armed and stout-made man, in the well dressed up-rank of the gang. Should she be too late, her sex and slender form, or gentler nature, will not avail; but, as if devoid of feeling, she is laid down by force, and punished with many stripes on those parts which shall be nameless for me, but which in women, for decency's sake, ought never to be exposed. Surely nature is outraged at such devilish indelicacies."

"Out of this time is allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; but many overseers have the first shell-blow, for dinner, at half past twelve o'clock, and the second at two, to go to the field again, as they are not very particular when they are busy in crop, or wish to have a certain quantity of work done. Independent of this also, in crop-time, the gangs are divided, and one half must work at night, whilst the other half sleeps; though on some estates, where they have great strength, as they term it, (viz. where the Negroes are more numerous than strict necessity requires for the quantity of land in cultivation,) the whole number is divided into three parts; so that on most sugar estates, the slaves work one half the year three nights in the week, independent of the days, and on the others two nights a week. With respect to the hardness of the labour it is not greater than (perhaps not so great as) our husbandmen are accustomed to in England; nor do I think it possible for any men to work so hard in a tropical climate as they could in a cold one; but the length of time that they are employed, (viz. eleven or twelve hours, besides the night work,) is more than was intended for man to bear, and must hasten debility and old age. For the poor women it is a great deal too much, as their frail frames cannot stand it many years." pp. 47—50.

"I am aware that there is a law in Jamaica, imposing a fine on proprietors or overseers, for compelling the Negroes to do certain kinds of labour on the Sabbath; but it is notorious that this law is altogether

a dead letter, and that with respect to their grounds, the Negroes not only go of their own accord to work there, as not having sufficient time allowed them otherwise; but if they are found inattentive, it is a custom to send one of the book-keepers, on that holy day, to see that all the slaves are at work, and to watch them a certain time, that there may not be a want of food.

"For putting the mill about (viz. for making sugar) on a Sunday, there is a fine of 50*l.* one half of which, I believe, goes to the informer; but though this is done in defiance of law in almost every, if not every, parish in the island, I never heard of an information being laid for that offence, as those planters who do not put their mills about wink at it in others; and no clergyman or other religious person would venture, I think, to inform, as he would be sure to meet with insult, or some worse injury, for his conscientious interference.

"A short time before I left Jamaica, I was in St. Thomas in the East, the most religious parish in the island (Kingston perhaps excepted;) and on one of the Sundays I was there, several overseers put their mills about, in the afternoon, and the whole, or greater part of the gangs were busy at work: but where the mills are not put about, they work so late, on most estates, on Saturday nights, that the Negroes and even the Whites belonging to the boiling-house department, are employed all the forenoon of the Sabbath, potting sugars, &c. so that they are prevented from going to church.

"I will record one instance of this, as coming more particularly within my own knowledge: it was on a large estate, in the parish of St. David, belonging to a gentleman who wishes (as I have been informed) to afford his people every facility, that they may attend to religious duties, and encourages them to go to church as often as possible. I had been staying a week with the rector of the parish, and on my return to Kingston, on a Monday morning, called with a friend at Albion, the estate alluded to: it was about breakfast time, and the head book-keeper invited us to breakfast, of which we gladly accepted. We remarked, to rather a fine young Irishman, who had been only a few months in the country, that we had not seen him or any of the others at church yesterday: he replied that he used to attend regularly in his own country, but having been generally engaged of a Sunday morning, since he came upon that property, he had not been able to attend church; and that yesterday, in particular, he was in the boiling house till twelve o'clock, superintending the Negroes whilst they were potting sugars, as the mill had been kept about late on Saturday night. The young man seemed to have a sense of religion, and spoke with regret of his inability to attend a place of worship. On this estate there were six or

seven White men, and four or five hundred Negroes, scarcely any of whom attended the parish church, which was only about three miles distant, and the rector of which parish was most anxious to instruct those who would attend." pp. 71—73.

"The goodness of the Almighty in ordaining every seventh day a day of rest from labour, was of the greatest consequence to man, even in a temporal point of view, as most of the human race are labourers; for, by ceasing from work on that day, man is cheered and invigorated, and goes to his labour, or business, the following morning with a willing mind, and his sinews full of strength. That Omniscient Eye which looks into futurity, and has weighed the hearts of all men in a balance, foresaw that when men multiplied upon the earth, the powerful would oppress the weak, and that the rich would require perpetual labour from the poor; that this fatigue of the body would weigh down the soul, and destroy or very much diminish the powers of the mind: he therefore, in his own time, commanded the Sabbath to be kept holy, that man, who is in part an immortal creature, might reverence and worship his Creator, learn the nature and value of his being, and with fear and trembling, but in humble reliance, prepare for that never-ending state of eternity for which he was at first destined.

"By the Israelites, under the covenant of works, the seventh day was very strictly kept, and the Sabbath-breaker was commanded to be stoned to death, by a statute of Levitical Law. The Ten Commandments have lost none of their force under the covenant of grace, or Christian dispensation, and the Sabbath has been kept strictly and religiously, by most Christians, in all ages of the church of Christ; yet in the West-Indian colonies, planted by Christian nations, and particularly in Jamaica, the largest colony of highly-favoured and Christian Britain, the Sabbath is worse kept than by Turks themselves. It is not enough that most of the Slaves must work in their grounds a part of that holy day, but, to add to the abomination, a market must be kept also on the Sunday, for the sale of provisions, vegetables, fruit, &c. It is the only market-day, fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, which the poor Negroes and Coloured Slaves have; and, instead of worshipping their God, they are either cultivating their portions of land to preserve life, or trudging like mules with heavy loads, five, ten, or even twenty miles to a market, to sell the little surplus of their provision grounds, or to barter it for a little salt fish to season their poor meals; or, what is much worse, to spend, very often, the value in new destructive rum, which intoxicates them, and drowns for a short time the reflection that they are despised and burthened Slaves.

"I shall never forget the horror and disgust which I felt on going on shore, for the

first time, in Kingston, in the month of August, 1819: it was on a Sunday, and I had to pass by the Negro market, where several thousands of human beings, of various nations and colours, but principally Negroes, instead of worshipping their Maker on his holy day, were busily employed in all kinds of traffick in the open streets. Here were Jews with shops and standings as at a fair, selling old and new clothes, trinkets, and small wares at cent. per cent. to adorn the Negro person; there were low Frenchmen and Spaniards, and People of Colour, in petty shops and with stalls; some selling their bad rum, gin, tobacco, &c.; others, salt provisions, and small articles of dress; and many of them bartering with the Slave or purchasing his surplus provisions to retail again; poor free people and servants also, from all parts of the city to purchase vegetables, &c. for the following week. The different noises and barbarous tongues recalled to one's memory the confusion of Babel, but the drunkenness of some, with the imprecations and obscenities of others, put one in mind rather of a pandemonium, or residence of devils. Surely the gates or entrances to this city, instead of being entrances which lead to solemn temples, or gates of heaven, as they should be in a Christian country and on a Christian Sabbath, are much more like gates directing to the broad way that leadeth to destruction, that leadeth to hell itself." pp. 64—67.

"Marriage, that blessing of civilized and even of savage life, is protected in the case of the Slaves by no legal sanction. It cannot be said to exist among them. Those, therefore, who live together as man and wife, are liable to be separated by the caprice of their master, or by sale for the satisfaction of his creditors.

"The Slaves in general have little or no access to the means of Christian instruction.

"The effect of the want of such instruction, as well as of the absence of any marriage tie, is, that the most unrestrained licentiousness (exhibited in a degrading, disgusting, and depopulating promiscuous intercourse) prevails almost universally among the Slaves; and is encouraged, no less universally, by the debaucheries of the superiors the Whites."—*Brief View.*

"I have resided," says Mr. Bickell, "nearly five years in Jamaica, and have preached two or three sermons almost every Sunday; many other clergymen have also exerted themselves, but to very little

purpose, as far as the slaves are concerned, as those horrid and legalized scenes are just the same; for this Sunday market is a bait of Satan, to draw away the ignorant Negro: his temporal and pressing natural wants are set in opposition to his spiritual ones, and the former prevail to that degree that most of the churches in the island are nearly empty." pp. 67, 68.

"The White inhabitants, who were baptized in their childhood or youth, and promised obedience to the Divine law, have forsaken the covenant made with their God in baptism; have broken and despised his Sabbaths; have built other altars than those of prayer and praise, and compel poor ignorant Negroes, whom it is their duty to instruct and reform, to do the same.

"It is chiefly owing to the institution and due observance of the Sabbath that true religion and morality are kept alive in the world; and I would lay it down therefore as an axiom, that before the great body of Negro and other Slaves can have any proper ideas of the Christian religion, the Sunday markets must be done away with, the labouring in their grounds on the Sabbath must be forbidden; for to pretend to make them moral and religious, and to cause them to break the Sabbath at the same time, is not only highly offensive to Almighty God, but is grossly insulting to the correct feeling and common sense of a truly Christian people." pp. 68, 69.

"In some of the parishes a considerable number of marriages have taken place."—"The same parishes where religion has made the greatest progress, there, also, the greatest number of marriages have been solemnized amongst the slaves. In Kingston and St. Thomas's in the East, in particular, a great number of couples have been married; in the former parish about 2000, (one-third perhaps from Port-Royal, St. David's, and other parishes,) and in the latter 1500, within these last seven or eight years. In Spanish-Town, (or St. Catherine's,) St. Andrew's, and St. David's, a good many have been married also, and a few in some other parishes; but in several others none at all. In the small town of Port-Royal, which is quite separated from the other part of the parish, during the two years and three months that I served it, I married twelve or fourteen couple, free people and slaves; and several more were about to be married when I quitted the parish in April 1823. This is not a great number to be sure, but more than had been married there for twelve years previously to my taking the cure. Two or three of these couples had lived together in a state of concubinage for many (I believe nearly twenty) years; and married, I can confidently say, from religious motives, as did some of the others. In two instances, free men of Colour married Black women; and in one

particular case, the man, a very decent mechanic, applied to me for advice, as he said he had lived with the woman many years, and knowing now that it was wicked to live in that way any longer, they wished to be married; but that he had been much laughed and scoffed at by many in the town for his good and virtuous intentions, as the woman was older than himself, and had had a child by some other man before she lived with him. Having ascertained that it was not his intention to desert her, whether they were married or not, I advised him by all means to marry, and not to mind what irreligious and wicked people said. They came to my house to have the ceremony performed; and such was the crowd of low and noisy persons around it, that I was obliged to send for a constable to keep the peace. After the ceremony was performed, the rabble followed, shouting and jeering as if the newly married pair had committed some dreadful crime. I was obliged in two or three instances to have recourse to the constable, on these occasions, when they first began to marry, so rare a thing was it in Port-Royal; but I am happy to say, that before I quitted the parish, I could throw open the doors and allow them to look on, which they did with much propriety and attention." pp. 91—93.

"The evils of slavery, great as they have already been shewn to be, would yet be less lamentable than they really are, if they affected the slaves only; but truly distressing to an awakened and well-regulated Christian mind is it to witness the demoralizing effects brought on the White part of the population also, nearly the whole of whom live in a state of open and acknowledged, and even boasted, fornication. It is a well-known and notorious fact, that very few of the White men in the West Indies marry, except a few professional men, and some few merchants in the towns, and here and there, in the country, a proprietor or large attorney. Most of the merchants and shopkeepers in the towns, and the whole of the deputy planters, (namely, overseers,) in all parts of the country, have what is called a housekeeper, who is their concubine or mistress, and is generally a free woman of Colour; but the book-keepers, who are too poor and too dependent to have any kind of establishment, generally take some Mulatto, or Black female slave, from the estate where they are employed, or live in a more general state of licentiousness.

"This is so very common a vice and so far from being accounted scandalous, that it is looked upon by every person as a matter of course; and if a newly-arrived young man happens to have brought a few moral or religious ideas with him from Great Britain, he is soon deprived of them by taunt and ridicule, and is in a short time unblushingly amalgamated into the



common mass of hardened and barefaced licentiousness. This does not depreciate the privileged White men even in the eyes of most Creole White ladies; for they often pay visits to the mistress of a relative, and fondle and caress the little ones; nay, I have known some married ladies pay visits to the kept mistresses of rich men, who were not relatives, though they would not look upon a more respectable woman of the same colour, who might be married to a Brown man." pp. 104, 105.

"What a horrible picture is this! In Jamaica alone, there are seven or eight thousand White men; nearly the whole of whom live in this wicked state, in defiance of the commands of God, and in spite of the examples and precepts inculcated upon their minds in the mother country." p. 106.

"This unchristian way of living, this almost total absence of the sacred rite of marriage amongst the Whites, has been productive of that numerous and intermediate race between Whites and Blacks, commonly called People of Colour." p. 111.

"The greater part of these live also in a state of fornication: many are condemned to do so by their poverty and a total want of employment, for the poor females are brought up to no business, with very few exceptions, nor is there any demand for their services as servants. Except then their parents have left them sufficient to live upon, (which is but seldom the case,) they must prostitute their persons or starve; for such is the contempt with which the men of Colour are treated, (even by the lowest of the White men,) and such is the poverty of many of them, that most of the Brown women prefer being kept by a White man to being the wife of a man of her own colour and rank, though it can scarcely be said that they have any rank at all. Such were the disadvantages that the Brown men laboured under, that till within these last few years, marriage was seldom solemnized between two People of Colour; but of late, and particularly in Kingston, and two or three other parishes where the doctrines of Christianity have been most promulgated, a considerable number have been married, and live in an exemplary and respectable manner. Many more would follow these praise-worthy examples, were it not for the White man's gold and fine promises, connected with the idea in the female mind of having a fairer offspring; for such is the disgrace and disadvantage attached to colour, that the greater part of the females take a great pride in seeing their children progressively advancing to the privileged colour and cast." pp. 112, 113.

The following anecdote will aptly shew the difficulties with which missionaries have to contend, even on estates where absentee proprietors

are most desirous of affording them every requisite facility. Sir George Rose's zeal in the cause of religious instruction is well known; and yet it is on one of his estates that the following circumstances took place.

"I know one instance in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, on an estate belonging to Sir George Rose, where one of the Wesleyans, a very correct and zealous man, had been in the habit of attending; and from what he had taught them, several of the Negroes were in the habit of meeting in the evening, in one of the Negro huts, to offer up a few short prayers, and to instruct each other as well as they could. This however displeased the overseer, and they were ordered not to do it again. They then, I believe, complained to their minister of the hardship of not being allowed to worship their Maker in the inoffensive way he had taught them; and he represented the innocence of the practice, and impossibility of any danger arising to the property: but the overseer, instead of being persuaded, was enraged the more and took an early opportunity of punishing the complainants for some pretended fault, and said tauntingly, (whilst the whip was being applied to their backs, by a stout driver,) 'You'll go and tell the Methodist parson again, will you? I'll make you tell him for something.' And they were punished more than usual, for having complained to one whom they considered a friend, and who they thought would be able and willing to protect them from the cruel and cutting lash of the whip, for merely worshipping their God, and innocently pursuing his holy word.

"When the missionary was informed of the unjust floggings and unfeeling taunts, he remonstrated with the overseer upon his unreasonable conduct; and, remarking that he was allowed and encouraged by the proprietor to instruct the Negroes, further observed, (on finding that he could do no good with the deputy, that he should represent the matter to the attorney; and in his warmth said, (to the best of my recollection,) if the attorney did not countenance his teaching the slaves in a proper manner, it should be represented to the proprietor Sir G. Rose himself. The cunning and revengeful overseer, however, anticipated him, and went to the attorney with a woeful tale, of the dire intentions of the poor preacher against them both. The consequence was, that he was very nearly being brought into serious trouble; for the attorney represented the case to some of the vestry, and they talked of calling a meeting to take the affair into consideration. It was, however, hushed up (I was informed) by the senior missionary of the connexion going up from Kingston, and making some kind of apology for the humane and worthy, but (as

the planters thought) too zealous interference of his fellow-minister." pp. 210, 211.

"In none of the colonies of Great Britain have those legal facilities been afforded to the Slave, to purchase his own freedom, which have produced such extensively beneficial effects in the colonial possessions of Spain and Portugal, where the Slaves have been manumitted in large numbers, not only without injury, but with benefit to the master, and with decided advantage to the public peace and safety. On the contrary, in many of our colonies, even the voluntary manumission of Slaves by their masters is obstructed, and in some rendered nearly impossible, by large fines."—Brief View.

In the same strain, Mr. Bickell observes, that

"The obstructions thrown in the way of emancipation are also a very great evil. It is provided at the same time that every proprietor or owner should give a bond to the proper authorities, in the sum of 100*l.* for every slave he might emancipate, to be claimed from him or his executors, in case such slave should become chargeable to the parish. I do not mean to say that every slave, made free, is likely to become chargeable; but I am convinced that it has acted as a very great and insurmountable check to the liberal intentions of many owners, and has kept many a slave in bondage, who would otherwise have been enjoying his freedom. To make the best of it, it is but half a boon.

"But to other modes of emancipation there are still greater obstacles; for if an industrious Negro, in a favoured situation saves a little money, the sum demanded for his freedom is, in most instances, so enormous, that it is but seldom effected. In many cases, where free Brown or Black men have been connected with female slaves, they have had a wish to purchase their freedom out of love to the wife, as she is called, or, if she be a mother, perhaps to the child or children also; but so much has been demanded, that they have been obliged to relinquish the generous idea. With one instance of this kind I was well acquainted, as it happened in the city of Kingston. A decent free man, a tradesman, had lived with a Black female slave belonging to a certain White lady, (whose name I shall not now mention,) and much desired to purchase her that he might give her her freedom and marry her. He applied to the mistress, who did not altogether object to selling the young woman, but demanded so great a sum for her, that the poor fellow could not raise so much, even by selling all he had. The

common price for a good domestic female slave was then, from 100*l.* to 130*l.* currency; but how much dost thou think, gentle reader, that this virtuous and humane White lady asked for this her female slave, who wished to be freed and married to the man she loved? Why, the small sum of 200*l.* currency!! at least 70*l.* more than she was worth; nor could she be prevailed on to sell her for less, although assailed by the prayers of the free lover, and the tears of his enslaved mistress; so that she was neither emancipated nor married, for the man did not like to marry a slave; but she was allowed to live on in the same wicked way; though, had a moderate and equitable sum been demanded, she would have been emancipated, and her children (now being slaves and bastards) would have been free and legitimate. This is not a solitary case; it often occurs, and in many instances they will not sell a valuable slave on any terms. I became acquainted with a case of this last kind just before I left Jamaica, where a Mulatto slave was not allowed to be sold, though a good price, more than her full value, was offered for her.

"There is a much greater liberality in this respect in the Spanish colonies, where emancipation cannot be withheld from slaves on certain sums being offered, and on other certain conditions, there being fixed laws on this head.

"But in our colonies there is no inducement held out; for the slave is a complete chattel, a mere machine impelled by the whip, as the master has the power of perpetual possession. However deserving or fortunate the slave may be, in being steady and industrious, and having friends and a little money, it avails nothing; for, if the owner choose, he or she must die in bondage. Indeed, being good and industrious would, in nine cases out of ten, rivet his chains more tightly; for the more he does, the more valuable he is, and therefore the less likely to be parted with. Go to any estate or plantation in the British West Indies, and offer a fair sum for a worthless Negro, he or she would be readily and gladly sold to you. Offer a good price for an ingenious tradesman, a hardworking steady field-Negro, or an interesting young female, and say that you wish to make them free; the owner or manager would reply, 'No, sir; these are some of my most valuable slaves; I would not part with either of these men for more than his value. And as to that young woman, sir, she will work as well as any man I have got; she is likely also to have a large family. I cannot spare her for any sum!'" pp. 32—37.

Mr. Bickell tells us, that, although he has confined his observations to Jamaica, yet that, having visited some of the other colonies, he can safely assert,—

"That the picture drawn of Slavery in Jamaica, will pretty faithfully delineate its features, its actual and present state, in all the other Slave-holding islands and colonies belonging to Great Britain. There may be, and is, a variety of shades, some darker and some brighter; but as a whole it will be found tolerably correct. p. 119."

In some colonies, however, as Demerara, Berbice, and St. Lucie,

"The evils and hardships of the Slaves are even greater than in Jamaica, particularly in the two former; for the fatness and abundant goodness of the soil has augmented the cupidity of the planters there, to that degree, that the poor Negroes are very much over-worked, to increase the enormous produce, and to cause their masters' pockets to overflow with money." pp. 119, 120.

"Were the colonists inclined of themselves to make any material and beneficial changes in their Slave Code, neither the British government nor British people would think of interfering; but experience teaches us, that their professions, with respect to their Slaves, are unmeaning and empty, and that even the few concessions that have been wrung from them are not *bona fide* fulfilled. Witness their compelling them to labour in their grounds, and permitting them to make sugar on Sundays. Witness their not allowing them time to attend the places of worship (the pretended chapels, which were never built) for moral and religious instruction. Witness the non-redress of their just complaints, for severity and cruelty of punishment. Witness their throwing numerous obstacles in the way of individual emancipation. Witness their preventing those of the curates who wished to attend on some of the estates, to preach and catechise, from doing so, and thereby shutting the doors of instruction on the poor Slaves altogether!

"It must be plain to every impartial person indeed, that the colonists do not wish or intend to lighten the hardships of their Slaves, or grant them any privileges, if it be likely to lessen their income: their principal objects is to keep them in total ignorance, and to compel them to raise the greatest possible quantity of produce; for they calculate thus—'If we do away with the Sunday-market, there must be more time given to the Slaves, and our crops will fall short: if we allow them to be instructed, it will take a little more time, and the Negroes will also know too much to be content.' They therefore do, and will, oppose all interference by the British Parliament, because they wish, and intend at all hazards, to keep the Slaves and their descendants in perpetual bondage. It will be for the British Government to determine, if such a cruel and impolitic system shall be allowed to go on, to the

shame and outrage of religion and humanity, and to the risk of so great a loss to the British crown." pp. 137, 138.

The following passages will serve to counteract some of the prevalent notions so industriously propagated by West Indians of the enviable comforts of the Negro slave; comforts which, we are unblushingly told, place him above the British peasant.

"Of the great care taken of the Slaves in sickness, and of the boasted and frequent attendance of the medical men on the different properties, I have never seen any very flattering specimens, though I have been on a great many plantations, and have seen plenty of doctors. Their hot-houses, or hospitals, are generally speaking, filthy receptacles; they are very happily styled hot-houses, for they are hot enough; as the hospital is, on most estates, a confined room, very often an earthen floor: in this, is a platform of boards, raised two or three feet high, like the soldier's guard-bed, on which the sick lie down in their own clothes, covered sometimes with a blanket, and sometimes not: on some large estates they have a superior kind of hospital, on a first floor, with better accommodations. The hot-house is often the place where the Negroes are also confined in the stocks; so that it is both hospital and gaol." pp. 52, 53.

"The feeding and clothing of the Slaves have been much over-rated by the colonists; and, on the other hand, somewhat depreciated by the advocates of the Africans, or abolitionists; for what can be more absurd than to hear it constantly reiterated, that the Negroes in our colonies are better fed and better clothed than the British peasantry? If the quantity of food be meant, the favour is even then very frequently, I might say generally, with our own poor; but in the quality there is no comparison,—for none but a bigotted and low-minded planter, or some interested professional resident, who cannot return to reside in this country, would compare the coarse yams and cocoas, and the stringy indigestible plantains, with a few bad or rotten herrings, to the wholesome bread of this country, and to potatoes and other fine vegetables, with a small portion of fresh meat or bacon, which the English cottager enjoys. I have seen a good deal of the state of the English poor, having served curacies in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, and Wiltshire, besides having an intimate acquaintance with Devonshire; and I can conscientiously say, that I never saw any one, even a pauper, who lived in the mean hoggish way that the Slaves in the West Indies do; and, moreover, that if such coarse food as the Negroes generally eat were offered them, they would reject it, (at least much dislike it,) as thinking it



hardly fit for human and rational beings; English stomachs could not well digest it, three times a day: I know mine could not; and I can assert with much truth, that the coarsest Irish potatoes, with a little milk, or buttermilk and salt, are preferable to the Negro yams and green plantains, at least I would sooner have them, and I think most of the British poor would approve of my taste, had they an opportunity of judging.

"The English poor are also much better clothed; for where is there a poor cottager that has not a decent cloth or fustian coat, of any colour he pleases, with other parts of his dress suitable, independent of good and warm stockings, and sound shoes to keep his feet from the gravel and dirt? But what has the slave? He has for his best, (from his master, as I before observed,) a large baize surtout, which hangs about him like a sack, and would as well fit any person you please as himself; and moreover, a pair of coarse trowsers and coarse shirt of Osnaburgh which, with the coarsest kind of hat, is his whole wardrobe; for this is the general livery or badge of Slavery. The female Slaves are clothed as much inferior to our poor women; and both Negro men and women are without stockings and shoes, and generally go in a half-dressed state, viz. without coats or gowns; the women's petticoats up to their knees; and very often before fresh supplies are given out many of them are in a ragged state, and some almost in a state of nudity; and yet it is said, they are better off than the poor in Great Britain!

"On the other hand, however, they are not so badly off, as to food, as many people in this country imagine; for, as I before remarked, the quantity, in most cases, is sufficient; and as to clothes, they have no need of such warm garments as the poor in this our happy island. It cannot be expected they should be so well off, even in these respects; but if they were, they have not the comfortable cottage, and warm bed with decent furniture, and the snug chimney-corner of the English peasant, which no one, not even a lord or a prince, dares to enter into without permission. No, in his mud-built and straw-covered hut, without a window or a chimney, on two or three boards, raised a little above the floor, or on the floor itself, the Negro Slave lies down on his mat, very often uncovered; and if he wants a little fire, as in the mountains they sometimes do, he must light his few sticks in the open air, and, like an animal I could mention, sit upon his heels shivering by it. It is painful indeed to carry on the comparison; but, independent of all this, is it nothing that the peasant's son is most commonly sent to school and taught to read his Bible, and oftentimes to write and cypher, and when grown up can travel to any part of this free country to better

his condition, none molesting him or daring to make him afraid? pp. 56—59.

More might be quoted to the same effect but we must give a few lines as to the state of the clergy. Many of them, Mr. Bickell observes, are anxious to advance the knowledge of religion, but are prevented through the general profanation of the Sabbath, and the labouring and marketing of the Negroes on that day. Some who have attempted to introduce reforms have been stigmatised as Methodists; and it is scarcely safe for them to venture to preach against such vices as fornication, Sabbath-breaking, &c. One consequence of this intolerance of zealous and pious clergymen is, that many have been ordained, both as rectors and curates, who are but little qualified and less disposed to contend with the prevailing evils. One of these curates is stated to have been owner of a small trading vessel passing between Kingston and Cuba. On one occasion

"He went on board of her himself, made a voyage in her to Cuba, and returned safe and prosperous with an assorted cargo; some part of which (I was credibly informed) was exposed for sale in his own parish, not in his name, but for his account. The only punishment he incurred for this disgraceful conduct, was the loss of his salary for the time he was absent, through the vestry of the parish. This thoughtless Creole was only in deacon's orders, though he managed, after some time, to get testimonials signed to enable him to take priest's orders also, and was on his passage home for that purpose; but the vessel in which he embarked never reached England, as it was wrecked; and the poor young man, I am sorry to add, perished with nearly all the others on board." pp. 98, 99.

"Another of these clergymen, a rector of a large parish, was exposed very lately in one of the public, or island papers, for his indecent observations on some Coloured females at a funeral where he officiated.

"Another; who had hesitated between an ironmonger's shop and the church, and who had been appointed curate to a large country parish, which was partially disturbed about Christmas last, was (instead of being at his post, where it may be supposed a clergyman might have been of some service) strutting about Kingston and Spanish-Town in large spurs, *ala militaire*, idling away his precious time, and taking his fill of pleasure. Can a serious man, who wishes well to the cause of religion in

general, and to the Church of England in particular, see such things without thinking of the words of the prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxiii.?" pp. 100, 101.

Mr. Bickell supposes an objector to blame his exposure of the Jamaica clergy as unnecessary: bishops having been appointed to remedy all defects, he might without injury have omitted it. His answer is, that though he rejoices in the appointment of West-Indian bishops, he is sure they will never see what he has seen. Even if they were to visit different parts of the colony, they would not be admitted, as he had been, behind the scenes.

"A veil would be studiously thrown over the most prominent parts of the evils of the system, by every person with whom they might converse, and on every estate they might choose to visit. There would be no floggings, nor even a single stroke of the whip, in a bishop's presence; no indecency to shock his sight, nor any thing said to offend his ears, and if he attended at any church, it would be crowded by design and order, for that time: every thing, in fact, would be acted so as to deceive, and make a favourable but false impression." pp. ix, x.

Our author's remarks on the oppressions and disabilities of the free People of Colour, notwithstanding their many claims to favour, are peculiarly just and seasonable.

"It has been asserted, that nothing but coercion can induce a Negro to labour, more than barely to raise enough for his subsistence. This is extremely erroneous; witness the great number of free Blacks in the town of Jamaica: in Kingston they are most of them good mechanics, and work as regularly and as hard as White men in this country; they also conduct themselves as well, can read and write many of them, and are more respectably clad than White men of the same class in England. In Port-Royal, just the same; they are industrious and intelligent, and several of them (to their credit be it said) have more, much more, religion than the low White men there, who affect to despise them." p. 15.

"A great part of the People of Colour, in the towns, are constant attendants at places of worship; and many of them, both men and women, possess respectable property in houses and Slaves,—for a considerable part of the houses in Kingston belong to coloured females. In different parts of the country also, many of the men, and some women, have small coffee mountains, and some few have them of a

large extent. Of late years a few privileges have been granted them; such as their being permitted to give evidence in courts of justice, and to hold property to any extent; but no Brown man is allowed to serve on juries, to be an overseer or book keeper, to fill even the low office of constable or beadle, or (whatever property he may have) to vote for a member of Assembly; but although he cannot save deficiency on any White man's plantation (viz. though he cannot, on any estate, or plantation, fill any low office of a White man, either as carpenter, or smith, or book-keeper, so as to assist in making up the number that must be kept according to law, in proportion to the quantity of Slaves, except it be on another Brown man's property), yet he is obliged to turn out in the militia, and to clothe and accoutre himself, at his own expense, which expense is more than some of them can well bear." pp. 114, 115.

"It is very evident, therefore, that it is not to the Negroes as Slaves only that the colonists have objections; for when they are free they are considered equally beneath the favoured Whites: even those descended from them, on one side only, however far removed, are treated with contempt and disdain: for they are not accounted worthy to sit in their presence, nor hardly to pick up the crumbs under their table.

"Colour, therefore, colour is the mark of disgrace; colour is the stain for which those who have the least of it, pay so dearly and suffer so much, from those who call themselves Christians," pp. 116, 117.

"Some years ago, a gentleman in the parish of Clarendon married a respectable and well educated Brown lady; and, as he was a proprietor, and therefore admissible into genteel society, he went with his wife to an assembly, which was held at the court-house in the parish; but such umbrage was taken at their presence, by all the others assembled there, that he was desired or ordered to take his wife out of the room, which of course he hastily did after such an insult: but this and other neglect and insult, so much overwhelmed them with grief, that they both, shortly after, died of broken hearts.

"In the parish of St. Thomas, in the East also, a few years ago, a respectable man, holding an office of trust and profit, married a woman of Colour, as privately as possible (by licence) for he and the rector (the late rector, Mr. West,) well knew the deep-rooted prejudices of the Whites in the island. By some means or other it got wind, and came to the ears of some of the vestrymen, when the rector was asked if it were true; he however not choosing to satisfy them, the parish register was demanded of him by the magistrates and vestry; but he refused to shew it them, as wishing to preserve his friend from injury for doing so praise-

worthy a thing as preferring to marry the woman of his affections, rather than live in open and barefaced fornication. At last, however, the churchwardens obtained a sight of the register; and when it was ascertained that the marriage had taken place, he was not only shunned by his former friends and acquaintance, but was soon deprived of his situation, and was nearly ruined. The worthy rector also incurred a good deal of odium, and they thwarted and injured him in all that they could, because he had so properly, morally, and religiously discharged his duty to God and his fellow-man." pp. 225, 226.

In our present Number we have inserted a circular communication of the Anti-slavery Society, in which the injurious effects of high prices of produce, and the beneficial effects of low prices, on the comfort and well-being of the slaves, are maintained. Without the slightest apprehension that he is illustrating this hypothesis, Mr. Bickwell states some facts which bear directly upon it. Speaking of jobbing gangs, or gangs of Negroes, consisting usually of from twenty to forty stout male and female slaves, who are hired out to perform some of the heaviest labour of estates, he observes :

"They work very hard; and before sugars were depressed in price, three or four years since, their masters were paid ten pounds per acre for digging cane-holes, when each Negro could earn them a dollar a day; but, for the last two or three years, the jobbers have got only six or eight pounds an acre, and can, with difficulty, find employment for their gangs at that rate. These jobbers used to make fortunes in a short time; as a slave, by his labour, would in three or four years gain for his owner more than his prime cost. But it may be supposed that the Negroes have a great antipathy to being sold to these jobbing gentlemen; for, independent of the continual heavy labour, they are obliged to be almost altogether away from their own huts (which, though poor, are far better than the temporary ones) and grounds, except a few Saturdays and the Sundays; their poor children also must be neglected, and their little stock lost or gone astray. So great is the objection they have of being sold to jobbers, that I have known many of them run away to avoid it: a long time often intervenes before they can be recovered; and it is not a trifle that will make a Negro run the risk of getting imprisoned, with two or three floggings into the bargain, or perhaps get transported from the island for life. These

jobbing gangs have been compared, very aptly, to over-wrought or over-driven horses: the poor slaves composing them may certainly, without exaggeration, be compared to the London hacks. A double price is paid for them, and they are worked so very much, that they do not last long. It is *gold versus life*." pp. 51, 52.

This statement shews us clearly, how it is that high prices operate in increasing the labour and diminishing the comforts of *jobbing gangs*. The price of their labour being raised by temporary and accidental circumstances, their owner is tempted to comprise more of that labour into a small space—in short, to make hay while the sun shines—even at the expense of over-driving his slaves, and exposing to risk both their health and life. Estimating the work of a gang at an acre per day, the income of a single year, at 10*l.* an acre, would be 3,000*l.*; at 6*l.* an acre, 1800*l.*,—the difference being no less than 1,200*l.* And, if by additional exaction, and the abridgement of the time usually allowed the slaves, the jobber had it in his power to add fifty acres more to the tale of their labour, he would thereby raise his income to 3,500*l.*; whereas at 6*l.* the same degree of exaction could only raise his income to 2,100*l.* He could obviously, therefore, afford to kill more slaves in the former than in the latter case, and would therefore be more strongly tempted to overwork them, especially as he would fear the higher rate might be but temporary. And is not this exaction of labour a direct effect of high prices?

And let it not be supposed that this effect is confined to jobbing gangs. It extends to the slaves universally. The proprietor of a sugar estate is just as much tempted to overlook his Negroes, when the price of sugar is high, as the jobber is when the price of holing an acre of land is high; while, on the contrary, when prices are low, and little or no profit is to be made by overworking his slaves, as compared with the loss of health or life which may be the consequence,



he will feel it to be his interest rather to spare his Negroes, with a view to their increase and improvement, than to hazard the loss caused by overworking them, without an equivalent. There may doubtless, be benevolent individuals whom no temptation would induce to oppress their slaves. But we cannot doubt, that, in the mass of instances, the effect would be as we have stated it.

This view of the subject, which it would be easy to establish even to demonstration, if our limits would permit, shews the pernicious operation, on the comfort and well-being of the slaves, of that system of bounties and protecting duties on the sugar grown by slave-labour which prevails in this country. We object to this impost, not merely because the sum of a million and a half, which in this way is exacted from the people of this country, is a most unnecessary and oppressive burden; nor merely because by these restrictions our trade with other parts of the world is cramped and fettered. We object to it mainly because it adds to the misery of the slave, and because it tends to prolong and to embitter his bondage.

Accordingly, in the Bahama islands, where no sugar is grown, and where no impulse is given to slave labour, by bounties and protecting duties on that article, the slaves increase at the rate of about 2 1-2 to 3 per cent. per annum; whereas in Demerara, where the largest quantity of sugar is made in proportion to the population, and consequently the sum received in bounties and protecting duties is in the same proportion the largest, the slaves decrease still more rapidly than they increase in the Bahamas. In Jamaica, the proportion of sugar to the slave population, is smaller than in Demerara, and the decrease of the slaves is smaller; being about one per cent. instead of two and a half. In Barbadoes, the proportion of sugar is still smaller than in Jamaica;

and there, there is a small increase of the population. In short, the principle will be found to hold good universally in slave colonies, that the wretchedness and decrease of the slaves are aggravated by the larger profits of the planter, whether these larger profits are the effect of natural causes, such as comparative fertility of soil, or of artificial encouragement by bounties and duties. The slaves, let it be always remembered, receive no wages. They stand on the footing of cattle or machinery; with this difference, that when the demand for the produce of the labour of cattle or machinery increases, the number of cattle or of machines may be proportionably increased; whereas, in the case of slaves, the slave-trade being prohibited, the increased demand can only be met by an increased exertion of the muscles of the existing stock of slaves, extracted from them by an increased use of the cart-whip.

What measures Government mean to pursue for the extinction of slavery, we know not; but it is obvious, that if, while they profess to seek its amelioration, with a view to its final extinction, they, at the same time, continue those bounties and protecting duties which tend, as we have seen, to aggravate its severity, they are undoing by one set of measures what they propose to effect by another. It is highly important, therefore, that both parliament and the public should attain to right views on this subject. No mere enactments can avail much in diminishing the evils of slavery, while solid rewards are attached to the unmeasured exaction of slave-labour;—while a high premium continues to be paid by the public of Great Britain for every ton of sugar which is produced by the blood and sweat of the slaves. And are the people of this country guiltless in silently permitting this system to be prolonged; in going on, without complaint or remonstrance, to reward the slave-driver for every ad-

ditional severity of exaction of which he is guilty? The average annual sum which each proprietor of a sugar estate in the West Indies has been receiving from the people of this country, in bounties and protecting duties, has been about 800*l*. This is neither more nor less than our eleemosynary contribution to the support of the whips, and chains, and stocks, and gibbets which grind down the poor Negroes to the dust, and which have converted into a

charnel house one of the fairest portions of the globe. This state of things cannot last. Indeed, it only requires the concurrent exertion of the people of England to put an end to it for ever. That exertion, we are confident, will be made; and, when made, it must succeed. Reason, justice, humanity, policy, and the sacred voice of religion all plead for it, and they will not long plead in vain.

## Literary and Philosophical Intelligence, &c. &c.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

PREFARING for publication:—No. I. of the "christian Repository;"—Lingard's History of England, vol. VI. containing the Reigns of James I. and Charles I.

In the press:—History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren; by the Rev. J. Holmes;—The History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain;—The Life of John Chamberlain, late a Missionary in India, by Mr. Yates of Calcutta, republished in England, Edited by the Rev. F. A. Cox, A. M. Hackney;—A Practical View of the Redeemer's Advent; in a Series of Discourses; by the Rev. J. H. Stewart, M. A., of Percy Chapel.

*Cambridge.*—The following is a summary of the Members of all the Colleges in 1824:—Trinity College, 1222; St. John's College, 1015; Queen's College, 221; Emmanuel College, 218; Christ's College, 210; Jesus College, 204; Caius College, 201; St. Peter's College, 169; Clare Hall, 139; Trinity Hall, 135; Corpus Christi College, 130; Pembroke Hall, 125; Catharine Hall, 118; King's College, 108; Sidney College, 101; Magdalen College, 95; Downing College, 53; University Officers, 11—4489. Comparative View—1748, 1500; 1813, 2805; 1823, 4277; 1824, 4400.

The House of Commons' Select Committee on the Public Buildings report, that, "with regard to public buildings in general, this vast metropolis presents a much smaller number of those which can be denominated grand or ornamental, than its extent and opulence would induce a stranger to expect; for, with the exception of the two cathedrals, of three of the stone bridges over the Thames, and some very few other structures, it offers

but little that deserves admiration." This deficiency, the Committee state, arises not so much from cost having been spared, as from good taste having been wanting; and they strongly impress the importance, in a national point of view, of paying great attention in future to the public edifices which may be required. They regret, "that architecture has not kept pace with our other advances towards perfection, and that we are still obliged to look for examples of excellence in this art, either to times that are past, or to other countries, rather than to our own."

At a late meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, the secretary read a paper from Dr. Morrison, respecting a remarkable secret association which has been discovered to exist in China, and to prevail among the Chinese at Java, Malacca, Singapore, Penang, and other places. This association is known by a term equivalent to the Triad Society, from the three objects (heaven, earth, and man) of their veneration. The paper furnishes an investigation of the name, character, and government of this secret band, which, under the mask of philanthropy, and social principles and objects, Dr. Morrison says, conceals very dangerous and immoral designs.

During the year, 1824, there were admitted into the British Museum 112,840 persons. The estimated expense for the current year is 15,416*l*. Amongst the items of approaching charge are, for "Drawings from the Athenian Marbles, 350*l*;" "Engravings from ditto, 1,300*l*." "For the purchase of Foreign Books, and continuing the works in progress in the Library of Sir Joseph Banks, and MSS. 1000*l*. Towards printing the Alexandrian MS. there were last year expended 391*l*., and the sums already expended in

the printing, &c. of this MS. amount to 8,877*l*. The printing of the whole of the text, and of the greater part of the notes, is completed. The remaining portion of the notes and of the Prolegomena will amount to about 300*l*. Sir R. C. Hoare has presented his valuable collection of Italian Topography, amounting to 1700 articles, to this national institution.

Dr. Birkbeck, who has shewn himself most anxious for the advancement of useful knowledge, and for the welfare of our working mechanics and artizans, has been induced, by the success which has attended the Mechanics' Institution, to form "The London Chemical Society," the regulations of which are in circulation.

#### RUSSIA.

Previously to the year 1817 the number of works printed in Russia did not exceed 4,000, about the same number as is annually contained in the catalogues of the fair at Leipzig. This number is now augmented to about 8,000. There are at Moscow nine literary and ten printing establishments; at St. Petersburg, nine of

the former and fifteen of the latter; and in various other towns one of each. In the whole empire there are nine letter founderies. There are at present fifteen periodical papers in the four provinces of the Baltic.

#### INDIA.

Two vessels lately left Bombay to continue the survey of the Persian Gulf. Until the year 1821, that coast was comparatively unknown. The late survey terminated at the island of Bahrein; and the whole line of coast was laid down by a continued series of triangles, verified by celestial observations. The space between Bahrein and the mouth of the Euphrates is to be completed by the close of the next cool season.

#### JAVA.

Mr. Burgess, a merchant at Batavia, has obtained a licence for four and a half years to build steam-vessels to navigate on the coast of Java: they are to be built in the Netherlands, and during the term of the licence may go from Europe to India.

## List of New Publications.

#### THEOLOGY.

Sermon for the Irish Society of London; by the Rev. H. M'Neill. 1*s*. 6*d*.

A Discourse concerning Transubstantiation; reprinted by Admiral Bullen.

The Christian Ministry; by the Rev. W. Innes. 8*s*.

A Manual of Family Prayers; by the Lord Bishop of Chester.

The Essentials of Religion; by the Rev. H. F. Burder. 9*s*.

A Farewell Sermon; by the Rev. J. Leifchild. 1*s*. 6*d*.

Impressions of the Heart relative to the Nature of Genuine Religion. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Discourses and Evening Thoughts; by S. Burdett. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Sketches of Prophecy; by the Rev. A. Keith. 4*s*.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Life of the Rev. P. Henry; by J. B. Williams, F. S. A. 1 vol. 15*s*.

Life of the Rev. J. Wesley; by the Rev. H. Moore. Vol. II. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Memoirs of the late E. Williams, D. D.; by J. Gilbert. 14*s*.

Memoirs of M. Mendelsohn; by M. Samuels. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Historic Defence of Experimental Religion; by T. Williams. 7*s*.

Visions of Hades. 6*s*.

A Visit to the Sea Coast.

Remarks on Volney's Ruins of Empires; by W. Hails. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Correspondence relative to the Progress of Christianity in India.

Journal during a residence at the Red River Colony, and Excursions among the North-American Indians; by the Rev. J. West. 8*vo*. 8*s*. 6*d*.

Memoirs of Canova; by J. S. Memes. 8*vo*. 15*s*.

Practical Observations on the Education of the People; by Henry Brougham, Esq. 6*d*.

The First Principles of the Differential Calculus; by the Rev. A. Browne. 8*vo*.

Sonnets, and other Poems; by E. L. Richardson. 8*vo*. 5*s*.

A new and faithful Translation of Bishop Jewel's Apology for the Church of England; by Rev. S. Isaacson. 8*vo*. 14*s*.

The Plenary Inspirations of the Scriptures asserted; by the Rev. S. Noble. 8*vo*. 14*s*.

The Harmony of the Law and Gospel with regard to a future State; by T. W. Lancaster, M. A. 12*s*.

A Visit to Greece; by G. Waddington. 8*vo*. 8*s*. 6*d*.

Narrative of Lord Byron's last Journey to Greece; by Count Gamba. 8*vo*. 12*s*.

Travels in South America, in 1819-20-21; by A. Caldcleugh, Esq. 2 vols. 8*vo*. 30*s*.

Travels in Russia and the Crimea, the Caucasus and Georgia; by Robert Lyall, M. D. 2 vols. 8*vo*. 30*s*.



## Religious Intelligence.

### SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

OUR readers are aware of the exertions which were made by this society in urging the necessity of an Episcopal establishment for the West Indies, with a view as the Report presented by them to Earl Bathurst on the subject mentioned, to "the instruction and conversion of the Slaves," and "improving the condition of the Coloured population," as well as those other excellent purposes which they justly considered would result from such a measure. The greater part of the annual sermon, preached by the lord Bishop of Exeter before the Society, and prefixed to their last Report, is devoted to this important subject. The following are extracts from it.

After sketching the state of the population in the West-India settlements, the Bishop urges the duty and benefits of uniting them in one body by the influence of Christianity:—

"In such a frame of society, if society it can be called, where the materials are so heterogeneous and the parts so fundamentally disproportionate, what cement is there sufficiently binding to hold the building together? Where the property, the power, the intelligence, and the liberty, all, in short, that gives dignity and moral strength to man, is on the one side, and mere numbers on the other, what is there to determine the rights of each?

"It may be thought, perhaps, that law, or at least a sense of natural justice, would be sufficient to define and to secure them. But the law is unwilling to interfere in the disposal and management of private property; and the selfishness of the human heart is apt to extinguish all sense of equity, where there are no public rights to enforce it. So long, therefore, as the master shall command, and the slave obey without question or resistance, there may be peace; and, in some degree, there may be kindness between them; but there will also be pride and contempt in the one party; and, undoubtedly, meanness and debasement in the other. In such a state of things, there may be the fallacious appearance of security, but in reality there will be constant danger."

"Some common principle, therefore, which law cannot infuse—some common bond, which society itself cannot supply—must be found to interpose, and to unite these unequal and discordant parties; or

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a field will undoubtedly be open for the display of every bad feeling and the exercise of every evil propensity, which unrestrained power in the few, or the keen sense of degradation and injury in the many, may give rise to.

"Now Christianity is the only bond sufficiently comprehensive to effect this. It embraces, equally, the freeman and the slave: and, while it permits and sanctions the inequality of their stations, it acknowledges them both as equal objects of its regard. It tells them that they are all the children of one common Father, and the heirs of one common promise; partakers of the same heavenly grace, and candidates for the same heavenly reward. As brothers in the eye of God, it bids them meet together in the same house of prayer, and join in the same service of praise and thanksgiving: while, abroad and at home, it still equally impresses upon them their relative obligations; and inculcates equally, the duty of kindness and compassion in the master, of good-will and obedience in the slave."

"On the subject of an Episcopal establishment for the West-Indies, his lordship remarks: "The influence of such an establishment in our West-Indian islands, circumstanced as they are, will be most extensively and beneficially felt. It will be felt by the planter, in the support which it will lend to legitimate authority; by the Negro, in the check which it will oppose to the abuse of power; and by all, in the wholesome strength which it will give to public opinion, and the lasting energy which it will impart to morality and religion."

"The present state of affairs in those islands is one which compels the attention of all classes of our fellow-citizens: it concerns the commercial, no less than the ecclesiastical, orders of the community; the statesman, no less than the missionary. For the changes which a few years have brought about in the condition of the Negro population, are, in every point of view, of the greatest moment. The decline, if not the extinction, of their popular superstition; the decrease of promiscuous intercourse, and of the crimes which arose from it; the growing inclination to marriage, and the careful nurture of their progeny, occasioned by the improved system of their management and education; their increased numbers, their increased knowledge, and consequently their increased power; the abolition of the

trade, which made them Slaves, by our own Government, and its denunciation as piracy by that of America; [and now by our own;] the example of the empire founded by their brethren in St. Domingo; and the question constantly agitated among ourselves concerning their own emancipation;—all these circumstances have conspired to awaken hopes, expectations, and desires, which must materially affect their ardent character. It is impossible now to quench those hopes, or to check entirely those desires. Indeed, so far as they may urge them to the acquisition of sound knowledge and the practice of pure religion, they are rather to be fostered than discouraged: but then, in order to preserve the equilibrium of the community, a countervailing power must be exerted to balance the increased weight in the scale of the Negro. And where can this power be placed? It cannot be intrusted directly to the planter, because it would add, not to his strength so much as to his invidiousness: nor to the colonial government alone, for it would require another and a higher sanction than that of human laws to support its influence. Where, then, can it be confided so safely or so advantageously as to the hands of a regular church establishment, whose duty and interest it will be—to assist the local government in calming the fear and allaying the ferment of the times; and to reconcile the planter to the propriety of granting, and in due time to fit and prepare the Negro for receiving, that liberty which, with religion and the love of order, will be really a blessing to him, but without them will infallibly prove a curse.

"A greater necessity exists for the judicious combination of all ranks and orders in the church, than ever existed before. It will also, I trust be allowed that present circumstances open a great door for the propagation of the Gospel, and one that may be rendered effectual by the establishment of local episcopacy."

On the opposition which may be anticipated, his lordship remarks:—

"Let not the number of our adversaries alarm us, nor their enmity deter us from the prosecution of the great work which we have in hand. Opposition must always be looked for, and may often be converted into an instrument of good; for if the spirit which it produces be but free from personal animosity and the uncharitableness of party, its effect must ever be to purify our motives and inflame our zeal. And, in the present instance, we have strong allies, in the roused attention of the nation at large, in the redoubled exertions of all good men, in the bright ex-

ample of the East, and in the general feeling of those connected with the West, both at home and abroad;—the feeling, that their cause is the same with ours; that the propagation of the Gospel is the best means of securing the integrity of our colonial empire; and that Christianity, by equalizing and conciliating the whole island population, will be the best defence against invasion from without, and insurrection from within.

"This conviction will give us auxiliaries numerous, powerful, and indefatigable: this will unite the intelligent planter, the zealous missionary, and the true because judicious friend of humanity: this will give to the cause of the Gospel, the support of the merchant and the protection of the government.

"Opposition, however it may deter the lukewarm or the fainthearted, affords no just ground for inactivity or despondency in the great task of preaching the Gospel to all nations. We have the example of the Apostles, we have the conclusions of reason, we have the lessons of experience to convince us, that resistance and difficulty are among the appointed means of stimulating and concentrating our efforts for its propagation.

"And, with this conviction on our minds, we may behold, not indeed with unconcern, but with less uneasiness and sorrow, the occasional failure of our warmest hopes; and hear without impatience or mistrust the sneers of our adversaries, when they point to the continued blindness of the Jew, or the unyielding abominations of the Gentile. Like the remnant of the Canaanites in the holy land, the Jew, the Gentile, and the Mahomedan are left perhaps to prove our virtue, and to perfect that which is lacking in our faith."

"Meanwhile, however, there is much to console and encourage us. There are many circumstances in the present day, which justify the expectation, that the great impediments to the propagation of the Gospel will, in some degree at least and in some parts of the earth, be speedily overcome. We may survey, with increasing hope, the gradual removal of heathen darkness; and rejoice, with growing joy, at the day-spring of the Gospel, as it breaks through the mists of superstition and idolatry. It may be long, indeed, before the Sun of Righteousness shall shine forth, in his meridian strength, on the benighted regions of the East and of the South; but we may hail the dawn of that 'everlasting light,' which shall one day equally illuminate 'the isles of the Gentiles and the city of our God.'"

## BISHOP OF CALCUTTA'S VISITATION.

On last Ascension-day, after a sermon by Dr. Parish, at the cathedral, Calcutta, the lord bishop took his seat near the altar; and the clergy being assembled near him, his lordship delivered his charge. After some remarks upon the ecclesiastical establishment in India, his lordship, adverting to the backwardness of the English clergy to enter upon their calling in India, remarked: "Those, indeed, would be much mistaken who should anticipate in the fortunes of an Indian chaplain a life of indolence, of opulence, of luxury. An Indian chaplain must come prepared for hard labour, in a climate where labour is often death: he must come prepared for rigid self-denial, in situations where all around him incites to sensual indulgence; he must be content with an income, liberal indeed in itself, but altogether disproportioned to the charities, the hospitalities, the unavoidable expenses to which his situation renders him liable. He must be content to bear his life in his hand, and to leave, very often, those dearer than life itself, to His care alone who feeds the ravens, and who never, or most rarely, suffers the seed of the righteous to beg their bread. Nor are the qualifications which he will need, nor the duties which will be imposed on him, less arduous than the perils of his situation. But to the well tempered, the well educated, the diligent and pious clergyman, who can endear himself to the poor without vulgarity, and to the rich without involving himself in their vices; who can reprove sin without harshness, and comfort penitence without undue indulgence; who delights in his Master's work even when divested of many of those outward circumstances which, in our own country, contribute to render that work picturesque and interesting; who feels a pleasure in bringing men to God, proportioned to the extent of their previous wanderings: to such a man as Martyn was—I can promise no common usefulness and enjoyment in the situation of an Indian chaplain; I can promise, in any station to which he may be assigned, an educated society and an almost unbounded range of usefulness. I can promise him the favour of his superiors, the friendship of his equals, and affection, strong as death, from those whose wanderings he corrects, whose distresses he consoles, and by whose sick and dying bed he stands as a ministering angel. Are further inducements needful? I can promise to such a man the esteem, the

regard, the veneration of the surrounding Gentiles, the consolation at least of having removed from their minds, by his blameless life and winning manners, some of the most inveterate and injurious prejudices which oppose themselves to the Gospel; and the honour it may be, of which examples are not wanting among you, of planting the Cross of Christ in the wilderness of a heathen heart, and extending the frontiers of the visible church amid the hills of darkness and the strong holds of error and idolatry."

His lordship then adverted to the great assistance afforded to the ministers of the Gospel in India, by the parental care of Government, the bounty of individuals, and the labours of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; in the establishment of schools, the distribution of religious tracts, and the management of lending libraries, which his lordship wished to become universal. The missionaries who attended the visitation were then addressed by the Bishop, who alluded to the object and importance of their labours; and this led his lordship to the consideration of the great question of the conversion of the heathen, and to some remarks on the late publication of the Abbé Dubois. His gross mis-statements were confuted by an appeal to the Protestant converts of Agra, of Benares, of Meerut, and of Chunar. "Bear witness," said his lordship, "those numerous believers of our own immediate neighbourhood, with whom, though we differ on many, and doubtless on very important, points, I should hate myself if I could regard them as any other than my brethren and fellow-servants in the Lord. Let the populous Christian districts of Malabar bear witness, where believers are not reckoned by solitary individuals but by hundreds and by thousands. Bear witness Ceylon, where the Cross has lost its reproach, and the chiefs of the land are gradually assuming, without scruple, the attire, the language, and the religion of Englishmen; and let him, finally, bear witness, whom we have now received into the number of the commissioned servants of the church, and whom we trust, at no distant day, to send forth, in the fulness of Christian authority, to make known the way of truth to those his countrymen from whose errors he has himself been graciously delivered."

The concluding passage relates, we believe, to the Rev. Christian David, who was baptized at Tranquebar, many years since, and has lately been admitted to holy orders at Calcutta, by the bishop of that diocese. He has since preached at



Calcutta, in the English language; and his discourses are said to be highly appropriate and affecting.

#### SERAMPORE COLLEGE.

The following passage, from the last Report of this institution, seems to indicate an increasing abatement in the prejudices of the natives, and their confidence in the good will and intentions of the Missionaries.

"The Brahman Class.—On the hypothesis of some, it might have been expected that, when it is known to be so much the design of Serampore College to spread the knowledge of Divine revelation, no brahman would ever have entered within its precincts with the view of receiving instruction. This, however, facts completely disprove. In the last Report it was mentioned that there were seven brahmans studying in the college. This year there have been no less than twelve, and several others are earnestly pressing for admission. Among these are three from the most respectable brahman families for rank and wealth in Serampore, who felt so desirous that their sons might enjoy the advantages of the institution, that they entreated the Governor of Serampore to interest himself in their behalf; engaging, that if they were permitted to enjoy the advantages of instruction in the college for five years, they would furnish them with board and clothing themselves, and put the institution to no farther expense than that of instruction and books. This desire, manifested by the respectable native inhabitants of the town in which those who conduct the college have resided nearly a fourth of a century, and where, of course, their conduct and views must be so thoroughly known, requires no kind of comment."

#### CALCUTTA SCHOOL SOCIETY.

The last annual examination of the more advanced boys of the Calcutta School Society was held at the house of a native gentleman, in the presence of a large number of Europeans, friends to the education of the natives.

The examination consisted, first of the boys from the indigenous schools of the Society, in Bengalee; secondly, of its preparatory English schools, and schools at Arpoolee supported by a number of the committee, in English; and lastly of the boys educated at the Hindoo college, at the expense of the Society, in English also.

The indigenous schools are those under

native masters in various parts of the city, in which the parents of the boys pay for their education; the School Society furnishing each master with instructive books, and examining the progress of his head pupils. These examinations are held thrice in the year: according to the proficiency made, the master is rewarded with a small gratuity. Of these schools there are seventy-six under the patronage of the Society; each under the immediate superintendence of a Bengalee gentleman residing in the neighbourhood. The total number of boys under education in them exceeds 2,800. Their progress is highly gratifying.

"We were much gratified," writes a Calcutta journalist, "by the examination in English, both of the select boys in the Arpoolee and preparatory school, and of those at the Hindoo College, altogether amounting to about sixty. The correctness of pronunciation and spelling and the knowledge of the meaning and grammatical construction of what they read, was evident in almost all; but particularly so in those of the Hindoo College, whose improvement of their superior advantages was very honourable to themselves and their teachers. The cordial friendship of our host and his son (Baboo Radacant Deb, the native Secretary of the Society) the sight of at least thirty native gentlemen of the first respectability and learning, uniting with their European friends in approving and supporting the education of their countrymen; the spectacle of more than two hundred pupils, in general neatly, and in many cases elegantly, dressed (proving them to be of the middle and higher ranks of the native population;) the recollection of the correct ideas as to morals and science imbibed by these and their companions—combined to give us the most pleasurable emotions. Whatever may be the impressions of the Abbe Dubois, it is evident to us, that intellectual and moral, as well as religious, improvement is on its march in India. For proof of the former we can refer to the success of this Society, and of the latter to the account lately received from Ceylon, by which it appears that in the schools superintended by the American Missionaries there, more than one hundred pupils and two schoolmasters voluntarily and openly expressed their conviction of the superiority of the Christian Religion, and their desire publicly to profess it. Let the friends of native improvement but continue and enlarge their labours, and with the blessing of God they must effect an important, extensive, and blessed change in the face of society generally."

CALCUTTA LADIES' SOCIETY FOR  
NATIVE FEMALE EDUCATION.

At a meeting of ladies, friends to the education of the female natives of India, held in the Church Mission Library, Mirzapore, the Right Hon. Lady Amherst in the chair, it was resolved as follows:—"That the education of native females is an object highly desirable and worthy the best exertions of all who wish well to the happiness and prosperity of India: That the system introduced into India by Mrs. Wilson, has been pursued by her under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, with a degree of success which could hardly have been anticipated by those who were aware of the novelty and apparent difficulty of the undertaking, and is capable of an extension and improvement, only limited by the want of sufficient funds for its prosecution on a scale commensurate to its object: That it appears to this meeting, that there are at present twenty-four schools under her superintendence, attended, on an average, by 400 pupils: That females of the most respectable caste and station in society have both sent their daughters, and in some instances have themselves expressed an anxiety to obtain instruction; and that the system of instruction pursued has met with the expressed concurrence and approbation of some of the most distinguished among the native gentry and religious instructors: and lastly, That in order to render Mrs. Wilson's labours yet more effectual, and to meet the feelings of the respectable natives of India, by rendering the establishment more exclusively female, it is expedient that the affairs and government of these schools, now existing or hereafter to be established, in connexion with them in Calcutta and its vicinity, be placed under the superintendence and controul of a certain number of ladies, as patronesses and visitors, who may be inclined to give a portion of their time to this interesting and laudable object; and it being understood that the Church Missionary Society are willing to relinquish the entire management and direction of their Female School in Calcutta, and its vicinity, to a committee of such a description, the following ladies hereby undertake that office, under the designation of the 'Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity.'"

Lady Amherst is the patroness of the institution; and Mrs. Heber, with several other ladies of distinction, are vice-patronesses.

## OHIO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

We have received the journal of the proceedings of the seventh annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio, held at Chillicothe last November.

Bishop Chase's address to the convention is such as might be expected from the lips of that revered prelate. Having alluded with pious resignation to the decease of his lamented son, and other local circumstances in his diocese, he passes on to the auspicious result of his late visit to this country. "When," says he, "a famine of the means to sustain our church threatened us with desolation, there was a blessed land to which a man of God might fly;—a land in which, though continually munificent to all, the barrel of meal, and the cruse of oil had never failed.

"To this land were we directed; and to this land our Missionary Society resolved to send a messenger, and make known our wants. The circumstances which prevented the person appointed, from proceeding on the mission, and my own determination to supply his place, are well known to you all; as also the unexpected objections urged against the measure by many of our eastern brethren, and the obstructions and difficulties thrown in our way. But of these I will not speak further: they are passed; they have been happily surmounted: the errors in which they were founded have been dissipated; and I trust we shall no longer remember them, except as chastening afflictions permitted only for our spiritual good.

"When a resolution is once formed, evidently in accordance with the word of God, and sustained by a consciousness of Divine direction, it is no subject of regret that the efforts to carry it into execution are surrounded with apparent difficulties. It makes us feel our dependence to be on God alone; and, when crowned with success, it makes the glory more conspicuously His.

"With this simple and undisguised dependence on God, was the mission to Old England undertaken; and most signally has our trust in Him been crowned with success. That great and generous people, from whom the most of us derive our origin, and who are spreading the Gospel throughout the world, received your messenger with kindness, heard the story of your wants with compassion, investigated your plans with candour, examined carefully the objections urged against you, and finally determined in your favour and munificently contributed to your relief.

"My powers are not equal to an enumeration of all the instances of kindness which were showered upon me; far less is it within the reach of my abilities to give a full estimate of that *fellowship* which, in the bonds of our common church, accompanied the rich gifts to our infant western Zion. Very pleasant, however, is the recollection thereof: their memory is embalmed in my heart; and it is a delight more than a duty thus officially to acknowledge them. Never was benevolence more disinterested: never was Christian zeal more active. Delicacy as well as generosity was the characteristic of our benefactors. The task of solicitation being assumed by the most respectable characters, the rich feasts of intellectual intercourse and Christian courtesousness, were every where spread before me. I deny to myself the pleasure of pronouncing, and to you that of hearing, the names of our benefactors in this address, because I cannot, without offending their delicacy, speak of them as my heart prompts and they deserve.

"Wherever I went, one continued succession of hospitality, beneficence, and Christian communion cheered my heart and elevated my opinion of my fellowmen. God is merciful unto me, thought I, in giving me grace in the eyes of this people, whose God is the Lord, and whose kindness to me is the fruit of the Gospel of peace.

"The amount of donations, I had reason to believe, before I left England, nearly equalled 20,000 dollars. This may not be exclusive of expenses and specific liberalities. Among the latter are a set of plate for the holy communion already alluded to; and another set of smaller size for the use of the bishop and his successors, presented to him by a select number of his most affectionate friends.

"The stereotype plates for the Common Prayer Book were nearly finished before

I left London. The value of the books contributed is not exactly known: their number, before I returned, was about five hundred.

"That interesting part of our plan, through which so much good is anticipated, the design of having a printing press attached to our Seminary, met with such general and cordial approbation in England, that separate funds for it also were set on foot. And though the amount of each subscription was limited to a guinea, yet a generous anxiety to subscribe made the sum, in a few weeks, nearly equal to our wants.

"The avails of the subscriptions in England are deposited in the hands of trustees, the Right Honourable Lords Kenyon and Gambier, the Rev. Dr. Gas-kin, and Henry Hoare, Esq. and are not to be drawn for, but upon certain conditions and by the proper authorities. What these are, you will perceive, by attending to the deed of donation, dated London, 27th November, 1823. By that instrument it may be seen how foreign from my mind it has ever been to create any division in our church, by making our institution in any way independent of the constitutional and canonical authorities. To the superintending control of the General Convention and House of Bishops, all our institutions of this nature ought to be subject. In case there is a departure from our landmarks, the Articles and Liturgy of our primitive Zion, a controuling power must be acknowledged in those to whom God in his providence hath committed it."

We most earnestly unite our prayers with those of the bishop and episcopal clergy and laity of Ohio, for the abundant blessing of God upon this important institution; in the success of which every friend of the Church of England must take a deep and permanent interest.

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## View of Public Affairs.

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### FOREIGN.

FRANCE.—The proceedings of the chambers on the indemnity and sacrilege bills continue to form the chief subject of French public affairs. Both measures appear likely to pass, though not without having excited warm discussions. The more liberal members of the house of peers have in vain endeavoured to moderate the ruthless character of the sacrilege bill during its progress through their

chamber, by proposing hard labour for life, instead of the penalty of death, for the profanation of the consecrated elements; and for a limited time, instead of for life, for the profanation of the vessels containing them. To the disgrace, however, of French legislation in the nineteenth century, the bill has gone down to the lower chamber, enacting the punishment of death for the profanation of the sacred elements, if committed publicly; and of the vessel containing them, if com-



mitted publicly, or in a public place before several persons. Where one of these incidental aggravations is wanting, a sneer at the pyx or chalice will cost the offender only the mitigated penalty of captivity and hard labour for life. It is deplorable to see an enlightened and highminded nation thus reverting to the legislative barbarisms of the darkest ages.

#### UNITED STATES.

Mr. Adams is nominated President for the ensuing four years, after a warmly contested election. Great efforts were made, particularly in the Western States, to return General Jackson; but it is perhaps for the peace of the world that this important post has been reserved for a less violent spirit.

#### SOUTH AMERICA.

Advices received from Peru during the month detail the complete success of the liberating army over the remnant of the Spanish forces. The whole of this vast continent may now be considered free; and if considerable advances have already been made in the science and practice of wise and just principles of legislation, and in the promotion of arts, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, education, and the public and private welfare of mankind, amidst these long and arduous struggles for liberty and political existence, what may we not hope for, under the blessing of Divine Providence, now that these impediments have, as we hope, for ever ceased. The Christian, no less than the politician and the man of business, (would that the characters were more constantly united!) must feel deeply interested in the rising prospects of this new world. The various nations of central and Southern America, present an almost unlimited sphere for the exertions of British and North American Christians; and though all difficulties are not yet surmounted in opening this extensive continent to Protestant exertion, yet, from the generally liberal nature of its public institutions, we indulge sanguine hopes that they will not long continue. The decay of some of the worst features of Popery may be hoped for; and it will depend in a large degree on the zeal and wisdom of pious and liberal-minded Protestants, whether the blank thus left shall be filled by spiritual ignorance and infidelity, or by the pure doctrines and precepts of the word of God. We should scarcely know where to begin or to end, if we were to undertake to enumerate all the auspicious circumstances which rise before us, in reference to those new States, with the exception (temporary only we would hope,) of the Brazils. In Columbia especially, colleges, public libraries, and the circulation of periodical publications and

works of standard literature, are all rapidly on the advance. Every village has already a school, and the law of the land requires that, after the year 1840, no person who cannot read and write shall have a voice at public elections. Protestants may hold any civil office in common with Catholics. In the province of Buenos Ayres during last year the legislature voted no less a grant than 21,000 dollars for public schools, besides 18,480 for the support of young men at the University, and various other large sums for other truly wise and valuable objects. In Peru, notwithstanding Catholic prejudices, and the checks interposed in the way of improvement by the war, much has been done; and, in particular, a pressing demand is being made for the sacred Scriptures, the translation of which into the ancient Peruvian language, now completed, will be of incalculable value to that extensive country. We mention these only as individual illustrations of the general spirit; and to them we cannot forbear to add the truly politic as well as Christian and humane determination to extirpate slavery, and to elevate the long degraded Negro to his just rank as a man, a citizen, and a brother; and this not with a stinted dole of partial rights, but with the fullest permission for him to rise to any office, however high, in church or state, which his character and abilities may permit. The temporary sacrifices, public and private, which have been made in the execution of this act of justice, may well shame the tardiness of our own enlightened and Protestant nation; and we cannot forbear quoting from the Report of the Columbian Minister of the Interior for 1823, a passage relative to this subject, which shews at once the inflexible integrity, and the prospective wisdom with which the plan of emancipation was conceived and is upheld.

"It seems," says the Minister, "that, in certain provinces of the Republic, an apprehension exists, that, by the gradual extinction of slavery, the productions of the soil and the working of the mines will be diminished. This is an event that may happen; but it is unquestionably a minor evil to the inhabitants of those provinces compared with that of living amidst a volcano, ever ready to explode with dreadful effect: it is better that their agriculture and mines should suffer partial ills, to which gradual remedies may be applied, than by continuing the former personal slavery, insensibly to heap up combustibles for a terrible conflagration. It is well known, that, in this particular, our legislators have been animated by the most profound foresight and justice."

When nations are guided by principles such as these we may confidently hope for the special blessing of God upon their

measures; and with this persuasion we hail the rising prospects of the American continent as among the brightest that await the future generations of mankind.

#### DOMESTIC.

Intelligence has been received from India, of some partial reverses sustained by a detachment of our forces in Ava, followed up, however, by a detail of subsequent successes in driving the enemy from a number of posts in the vicinity of our head-quarters at Rangoon, and taking various forts on the coast of Siam. The Siamese have received our troops rather as friends than enemies. We are concerned to state that a mutinous spirit had broken out in a native regiment at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, which was not quelled but with the loss of many lives of the offenders. The disturbance arose, it is said, from discontent at the withdrawal of some customary allowances. No investigation has hitherto taken place, either in Parliament, or in the court of proprietors of East-India stock, respecting the necessity or the objects of the war, or the causes that have led to the insubordination of the troops; but we trust that both points will yet be strictly inquired into.

The proceedings in parliament have been of a highly momentous, and, in numerous instances, of a most gratifying character. The chancellor of the exchequer's exposition of the state of the finances, exhibits a progressive increase of national prosperity. He calculates upon a surplus of revenue, to the amount of a million and a half, which is to be applied to a reduction of the imposts on hemp, coffee, rum, British spirits and cider, wines, and foreign iron, with some small reductions on parts of the assessed taxes, chiefly affecting persons of the poorer classes. These repeals are calculated to increase commerce, curtail smuggling, and encourage good will and reciprocity among the great commonwealth of nations. The above measures have been followed up by a bill for removing many of the remaining restrictions on the commerce of the West-Indies, to the whole

world; and allowing the import of corn from Canada into Great Britain, at a duty of five shillings a quarter. We are sorry that any duty should have been imposed. Various other relaxations of our prohibitory laws are about to be proposed by Mr. Huskisson; but we greatly fear that he means to stop short of the most important and beneficial relaxation of all; namely, the removal of the restrictions on our trade with India.—Mr. Peel has introduced a most beneficial and popular bill for consolidating, and amending the laws (no less than eighty-five in number) respecting the impannelling of juries, so as to put an end to the abuses which have been long complained of in the existing practice. He strongly recommends also a general consolidation of all the statutes, beginning with the criminal code. The country must feel for ages to come deeply grateful for these highly beneficial measures. The cause of humanity also has found powerful advocates in parliament as well as that of an enlightened political economy.—Mr. Martin, though with a temporary failure of his object, has widely inspired a determination to prevent the exercise of cruelty towards the inferior animals.—Lord Suffield has carried through the house of peers, a bill to abolish the use of spring guns; and Mr. S. Wortley, through the commons, an important amendment of our sanguinary game laws, making game a vendible article, and giving every man leave to kill game on his own estate.

The state of Ireland has been undergoing a minute, and highly useful investigation by committees of both houses. Sir F. Burdett, has carried a motion for a bill for catholic emancipation. The proposed provisions are to be discussed on the 19th of April. The bill for the suppression of illegal associations has been passed, and the Catholic Association of Dublin has in consequence closed its sittings. The Government have expressed a determination to do all in their power to repress associations calculated to produce irritation whether called by the name of Orange, or Catholic, or any other denomination.

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### Answers to Correspondents.

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R.; D.; C. F. P.; S. R.; A CONSTANT READER; J. B. C.; J. S. H—; L. Y.; T. B.; H. F. B.; T. S.; J. D.; E. P.; CLERICUS CORNUBIENSIS; G. B.; H. S. B. D.; TRUTH; N. H.; AN OLD CORRESPONDENT; A FRIEND TO IRELAND; MERCATOR; T. F. J.; R. P. B.; and INDAGATOR, have been received, and are under consideration.

ANONYMOUS had better consult some judicious clergyman.

We refer MORITON to our Preface for 1821.